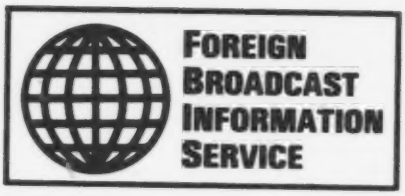

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-086
Wednesday
4 May 1988

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-086 *4 May 1988*

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Daily Assesses Agreement With Afghanistan *[ZERI I POPULLIT 4 May]* 1
Trade Agreement With Malta Signed in Tirana 2
"Enver Hoxha," Athens University Exchange 2
Health Minister Departs for WHO Session 2

BULGARIA

Situation of Muslim Minority Explained *[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 28 Apr]* 3
Petur Dyulgerov May Day Message to Workers *[TRUD 1 May]* 4
Stanishev Departs SFRY *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 May]* 5
Balev Returns From Kabul 29 Apr *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 30 Apr]* 5
More on Visit of Tanzania's Joseph Warioba 6
Atanasov Speaks at Dinner *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 May]* 6
Visits Sofia Institute 6
Received by Zhivkov 6
Seen Off by Atanasov, Kubadinski 7
Protocol Signed 7
Greek CP Working Group Visit Reported *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 30 Apr]* 7
Palestinian TU Delegation Pays Visit *[TRUD 29 Apr]* 7
Briefs 8
New Engineering Organization 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Lenart on Opposition, Church-State Relations 9
Temporary Diocesan Administrator Appointed *[RUDE PRAVO 30 Apr]* 9
Spokesman Pavel Gives Press Conference 26 Apr *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Apr]* 9
Government Program Statement Discussed 10
Report on 28 Apr Government Session *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Apr]* 10
Husak Appoints Pjescak to Prosecutor General 12
Pjescak's Biography 12
Czechs, Poles Confer on FRG's Ostpolitik *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Apr]* 12
RUDE PRAVO Interviews SPD's Rau *[27 Apr]* 12
Fojtik Receives Polish Education Minister 13
Communique Issued on Chnoupek's Egypt Visit 14
Mozambican Minister Speaks, Departs 3 May 14
CPCZ's Hanus Receives Cuban Party Secretary *[RUDE PRAVO 30 Apr]* 15
CPCZ's Kempny Returns From Kabul *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Apr]* 15
SRV Minister Welcomes Jakes Initiative *[Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Apr]* 15
CPC Study Delegation Departs *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Apr]* 15

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED CC Issues 1988 Party Elections Directive *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27 Apr]* 16
Defense Minister Addresses Army College *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Apr-1 May]* 20
Mongolian Defense Minister Arrives for Talks 21
Leaders Public Appearances 21-27 Apr 21
Briefs 22
Leipzig, Munich Universities Cooperate 22
Trade Minister Visits France 22

HUNGARY

Berecz Sees Everything Changing 'After Kadar' *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 13 Apr]* 23
Grosz Interviewed on Restructuring, Tasks *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 28 Apr]* 25
Officials Discuss Party Conference, Issues 29

POLAND

Strikes Continue, Marred by Violence 3 May 41
Wroclaw Rail Workers End Stoppage 41
Shipyard Strike Illegal, Punishable 41
80 Percent of Workforce Out *[AFP]* 41
Manager Appeals to Workers 41
1,000 Lubin Copper Miners Sit-in *[AFP]* 42
Warsaw Reports Pickets at Shipyards 42
Solidarity 'Dissidents' Arrested *[Hamburg DPA]* 42
DPA Sees Greater 'Social Unrest' *[Hamburg]* 42
Legalization of Solidarity Demanded 43
Urban: Economic Reform Threatened 43
Urban Outlines Strike Situation 44
Politburo Views May Day, Strikes 45
State Department Comments Noted 45
Police, Demonstrators Clash in Warsaw *[Hamburg DPA]* 45
Steelworks Director Outlines Talks 45
PAP: Engineers Support Reform 46
PAP: Frasyniuk Dolmel 'Raid' Fails 46
Hundreds Block Shipyard Gates 47
Nowa Huta Union Chief Interviewed 47
Massive Police Presence Seals Shipyard *[Hamburg DPA]* 47
PAP Sees 'Turning Point' for Reform 48
Warsaw Interviews Steelworks Director 48
Stoppages Continue 'Despite Threats' 4 May 49
Police Withdrawn From Shipyards *[Hamburg DPA]* 49
Warsaw Notes Ongoing Shipyard Stoppage 49
Church Appears To Undertake Mediation *[Hamburg DPA]* 49
Nowa Huta Strikers Using Violence 50
Strikers Trying To Paralyze Shipyard 50
Strike 'Serious Threat' to Sales 50
Stalowa Wola Strike Reportedly Ends *[TRYBUNA LUDU 2 May]* 50
Rail Car Workers Rally Reported 51
Solidarity Leader Arrested at Airport *[Hamburg DPA]* 51
Transportation Talks Reach Accord *[TRYBUNA LUDU 2 May]* 51
PAP: Wroclaw Factory Work Normal 52
Rudna Miners Attempt Illegal Strike 52
PAP: Poles See Adverse Effects 52
Council of Ministers 25 Apr Session Reported *[TRYBUNA LUDU 30 Apr-1 May]* 52
Urban, Sekula Hold Press Conference 29 Apr 53
'Transcript' of Urban 26 Apr Press Conference *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 27 Apr]* 56

ROMANIA

Political Executive Committee Holds Meeting 61
Chaired by Ceausescu 61
Ceausescu Report 61
Gromyko To Pay Official Visit in Mid-May 63
Intergovernmental Session With USSR Held 63
Andrei, Vaduva Meet U.S. Businessmen 63

YUGOSLAVIA

Sundic Comments on Shultz-Shevardnadze Meeting 64
On Opposition to Perestroyka 64

Mojsov Interviewed on Arab, Nonaligned Ties *[Cairo MENA 29 Apr]* 64
Vrhovec Begins Official Visit to U.S. 68
BORBA Views Nuclear Power, Chernobyl *[Teslic, 30 Apr, 1-3 May]* 68
Racan, Suvar 'Only' Candidates for President
LCY Criticism of Popit Statement Examined 69
Assembly Chamber Views Economic Activity 70
Presidency Orders May Day Gun Salute *[BORBA 30 Apr, 1-3 May]* 71
Defense Commission Views Upcoming Conference 71
Bosnian Assembly Fails To Elect President *[BORBA 28 Apr]* 72
Macedonian LC Conference Adopts Stances *[BORBA 28 Apr]* 72
Briefs 73
Montenegro LC Officials Reelected 73
Macedonian Officials Elected 73

Daily Assesses Agreement With Afghanistan

AU0405084588 Tirana ATA in English
0745 GMT 4 May 88

["The Afghan Model" of Solving the Regional Conflicts—Division of the Spheres of Influence Among Superpowers"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, May 4 (ATA)—Under the above title today's newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article by the reporter Shaban Murati which writes among others: A hue and cry is being raised everywhere about the agreement on Afghanistan, signed by the mid of the last month, and its guarantee on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. But the world public opinion has not yet learned what concessions have been made and what commitments the two superpowers have undertaken to each other.

They in Moscow and Washington insist that the agreement is "an event of an extraordinary importance" and that it opens a "new stage" in the international relations. The question rightfully arises: Of what importance and stage do they in the White House and the Kremlin speak of? As it is usual with the practice of the secret diplomacy of the superpowers, no answer is given but an "Afghan model" of solving all the local conflict in the present world is being dished out instead.

It is understandable that since the United States and the Soviet Union achieved an agreement on a local conflict and consider this as an important step in the U.S.—Soviet relations, they must have strong reasons for this. This means that in the context of these relations and of the strategic ratio of the power, the problem of the local conflicts is assuming the same importance as the arms' problem itself. The local conflicts, as the bargain on Afghanistan shows, are becoming one of the main basis of their policy and strategy for world domination.

Certainly the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan is in itself a good thing. The Albanian people have been and are against the deployment of the military troops and bases of a country in other countries. And this position of ours is unshakable. But in the case of Afghanistan it must be stressed that the Soviet troops withdrawal was carried out rather to preserve the prestige of Gorbachev and company, than to the interests of the Afghan people.

The Soviet Union was in a difficult position in Afghanistan which kept worsening. Everyday the Soviet peoples learned of the death of their sons in a war in which was interested only Moscow's bureaucratic ruling class and not the Russian worker or peasant.

Hence, the Soviet leadership found itself in the same state as the U.S. Administration at the time of war in Vietnam. Finally, the Americans, too, wanted to withdraw from Vietnam, but by preserving the appearances. Whereas Gorbachev was assisted by Reagan, U.S. imperialism in order to withdraw from Afghanistan. [sentence as received] Hence the withdrawal from Afghanistan is in the interest of Moscow and in the context of a broader and more global bargain with the United States of America. "The Afghan model" which is being so clamorously advertised is not a solution in conformity with the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people of this country, the article stresses. It does not solve the Afghan question, because it envisages neither the Afghan people's self-determination nor the freedom of election and the unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet troops. The Afghan people will continue to be killed and mutilated in a civil war equipped with the Soviet and U.S. weapons, without excluding the possibility of dividing the country in two zones of influence.

By withdrawing its troops, the Soviet Union was relieved of a heavy military, financial, political, and moral burden. Hence Gorbachev is given the possibility to earn some points for his perestroyka and glasnost. But "glasnost" to a certain extent. Because there will not be "glasnost" to bring to the fore what Reagan gave as a compensation for the facilities granted to withdraw from Afghanistan. Different observers link Americans' role in Afghanistan with a Soviet concession in Central America and Angola, as they link the possibility to approve the American plan of the solution of Arab- Israeli conflict.

The Afghan model of solving the conflicts is nothing but a model to divide the spheres of influence throughout the world.

The agreements on Afghanistan testify to the fact that the superpowers discuss and decide on problems of the other peoples and states, those interested being not present and everything is done at their expense. Now they store in the file of local conflicts every situation that is not to their liking in a region but also in set countries and states. Why do the United States of America or the Soviet Union discuss for instance on Cambodia or Ethiopia, whose problems should be solved only by the peoples of these countries and their legitimate governments. Likewise, they have no right to discuss and decide upon Angola, Nicaragua and other sovereign states. What the United States and the Soviet Union do is an open and flagrant interference in the home affairs of the other countries.

The talks and recipes of the superpowers for the regional conflicts express the prepotency of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union in the present international relations, the attempts to monopolize them by the two superbigs. The freedom-loving peoples and sovereign states cannot and must not be indifferent towards such processes in the world policy. The history of this century has numerous examples showing how important is the resolute opposition to them, the article says in conclusion.

Trade Agreement With Malta Signed in Tirana

AU0305191788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] A trade protocol for 1988-89 was signed in Tirana today between the Governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Malta.

On the Albanian side, the protocol was signed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Kostandin Hoxha, and on the Maltese side by State Secretary for Industry [name indistinct].

Albania will export liquid bitumen, copper wires and cables, coal, and so forth, and will import synthetic fibres, aluminium foils, chemicals, and so forth.

During its stay in our country, the Maltese Government trade delegation was received by Minister of Food Industry Jovan Bardhi and Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci.

The delegation has left Albania.

"Enver Hoxha," Athens University Exchange

AU0305105988 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Tirana, May 3 (ATA)—The protocol on scientific and educational exchanges between the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana of the PSR of Albania and the National University of Athens of the Republic of Greece was signed in Athens on May 2. The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Prof Osman Kraja, rector of the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana, and for the Greek side by Prof Mikhail Stathopoulos, rector of the National University of Athens.

The signing ceremony was attended by Yeoryios Alexandropoulos, director of Cultural Relations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, members of the senate of this university, as well as Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania to the Republic of Greece.

The protocol foresees exchange of lecturers from different fields of science, economy, history, philology, etc., exchange of experience in the field of geology, chemistry, medicine, etc., archival and bibliographic researches, as well as other activities.

Upon its stay in Greece, the delegation of the "Enver Hoxha" University of Tirana attended also the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the founding of Athens Polytechnic University. It was received in separate meetings by Prof Antonis Frangisco, rector of the Polytechnic University of Athens, and Prof Jorgos Kontojorgis, rector of the political sciences school of Athens, with whom opinions were exchanged on a further cooperation between the universities of the two countries. Likewise, it visited research and scientific centers and historic centers of Greece.

Health Minister Departs for WHO Session

AU0205185188 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] A delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Minister of Health Ahmet Kamberi, left for Geneva today to take part in the proceedings of the 41st session of WHO.

Situation of Muslim Minority Explained
AU0205193888 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 28 Apr 88 p 3

[Interview with Lyubomir Popov, deputy minister of foreign affairs and chairman of the Committee on Issues of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Religious Denominations, by OTECHESTVEN FRONT: "Crude Distortion of Truth"—place and date not given]

[Text] In connection with the information recently disseminated by the Turkish mass media regarding some report on the situation of Bulgarian Muslims, we approached Lyubomir Popov, deputy minister of foreign affairs and chairman of the Committee on Issues of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and Religious Denominations, and asked him to clarify the issue.

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT] Comrade Popov, recently the Turkish mass media mentioned the report of a special group, appointed by the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which reviews the situation of Bulgarian Muslims and which had been presented to the recent Amman conference of the ministers of foreign affairs of the member states of the organization. Several newspapers published extensive excerpts of the report. Could you comment on this issue?

[Popov] A report of the so-called contact group of the organization, which deals with the situation of Bulgarian Muslims, has been presented at the 17th Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member States of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which ended on 25 March in Amman. The Bulgarian side has so far not been officially informed about the contents of the report, and no attitude toward it has been formed. It is known that at the previous ministerial level meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which took place in 1986 in the Morrocan city of Fez, this artificially created issue was fanned by certain Turkish circles, motivated by obsolete pan-Turkish ambitions. On the basis of a decision, which was adopted despite the reluctance of many member states, a special group was created, which was instructed "to investigate the conditions of the Muslim minority in Bulgaria." The Bulgarian side decided to receive this group. The visit took place from 1 to 3 June 1987. At their explicit request, the guests visited Kurdzhali, Shumen, and Muslim cemeteries and mosques, (including some which, according to Turkish sources, have supposedly been destroyed). No request of theirs has been denied. Meetings took place with the Chief Mufti and other religious officials, Bulgarian Muslims, National Assembly members, and simple people of the Muslim persuasion. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs they held meetings with me and with Deputy Minister Ivan Ganev. They received full clarifications on the freedom of the religious denominations and, more specifically, on the total freedom enjoyed by Bulgarian Muslims and the support they receive from the state. One had the impression that, due to the impressions of its visit, the "contact group" will overcome the propaganda cliches and ideological stereotypes which had been accumulated under foreign pressure. Unfortunately, it seems that it composed its report entirely on the basis of conclusions published by the Turkish mass media. Entire excerpts of this "secret report," which were published before it had been submitted to the conference itself, testify to the character of its real authors—interested Turkish circles. The report makes an unqualified analysis of parts of Bulgarian history and, among other things, absurdly maintains that all Bulgarians in Bulgaria are of Turkish origin.

The claim that Bulgaria's muftis and imams have been appointed by the government is a total fabrication. The members of the group know very well that the Muslim religion in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a completely self-managing community, which acts in accordance with the democratic internal charter statute of the Muslim religion. They had an opportunity to convince themselves of this during their numerous meetings with Muslim religious figures and regular believers. Nevertheless, these facts were not reported by the authors of the report in order not to conceal the fact that they have preferred to use the Turkish versions. Simultaneously, they do not point out even a single fact, which they had noted during their visit in Bulgaria, and which confirms the fabrication about some limitation of the religious freedom of the Bulgarian Muslims. Their logic is simple: The voice of the Bulgarian Muslims, whose situation the group was instructed to investigate, has been excluded from the report.

The distortion of the truth testifies once again to the biased character of the report and the reluctance of its authors to accept the real situation, which fully refutes the thesis of some violation of the rights of Bulgarian Muslims. Such an attitude undoubtedly calls into question the credibility of the entire report. Obviously, the goal of its authors has been to turn the report into an instrument of Turkey's claims, which hide behind the curtain of this supposedly impartial document of an international organization.

The Bulgarian side urgently asked the general secretary of the Organization of the Islamic Conference that it be allowed to send an observer to the discussion of the issue of the Bulgarian Muslims and the report of the contact group. One is puzzled by the response of the general secretary, which was issued without consulting the conference, and which maintained that such a practice does not exist in the Organization of the Islamic Conference, while it is generally known that observers are allowed. These actions of the general secretary of the organization fully contradict the accepted international practice.

The report of the so-called contact group on the situation of the Muslims in Bulgaria is a serious attempt to deceive the Organization of the Islamic Conference and use its authority in the service of selfish pan-Turkish goals.

However, one can be sure that the attempts to involve international forums and organizations in the service of obsolete and unfounded claims of a state will fail.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is developing relations of friendship and cooperation with most of the member states of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The positions on many vitally important international issues, such as peace and security, the necessity of mutually beneficial contacts, and the situation in the Middle East, coincide or are close. One must not allow the setback of these relations or the creation of artificial barriers on the road of their further development by fanning a nonexistent issue.

Petur Dyulgerov May Day Message to Workers
AU0305130688 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
1 May 88 p 1

[Speech by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, on Bulgarian television and radio, on 30 April 1988]

[Text] Comrades, in the life and struggles of working people throughout the world May Day embodies all their hopes for a better future and all their firm will to struggle. May Day is a symbol and expression of international workers' solidarity, of the needs and requirements of our epoch, and of the ideas for social progress.

This year the holiday celebrated by millions of working people is marked by greater confidence in the future, by the victory of common sense and of the ideas for a peaceful and more just world. Changes have occurred in international life that open up better prospects for mankind and indicate the path of settling the crucial and decisive problems of our contemporary epoch.

The atmosphere in which we live today is different and more favorable than that of the past. The first results of new political thinking have emerged and are reflected in the improved international relations. The first step has been accomplished toward a radical change from the accumulation of mass destruction weapons to their limitation. Future prospects were mapped out for a drastic reduction of strategic nuclear missile weapons. A trend toward the solution of local conflicts through negotiations is emerging as well. These changes conform with the aspirations of the working people, who welcome them and fight for them. The powerful voice of the peoples calling for peace, disarmament, and security can be heard all over the world. Social and political organizations, mass movements, politicians, intellectuals, and workers, children and grown-ups are participating in this vitally important initiative. Tomorrow millions of working people from all parts of the globe will declare their resolve to pursue this struggle, to defend their own fight to live, to strengthen friendship and cooperation among the peoples in the spirit of peaceful coexistence.

At this year's May Day celebrations people will express their ardent support for the great deeds of peace accomplished by the Soviet Union and for its tremendous efforts in performing a radical change in international relations. Along with the other socialist countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is actively working for the implementation of this policy which comes to the rescue of mankind. Bulgaria's efforts and contribution to the transformation of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, to the development of good neighborly relations, and cooperation among Balkan states, enjoys wide recognition and respect.

Tomorrow's celebrations will proceed under the auspices of restructuring and a thorough innovation of socialism. Tomorrow the working people in our country will express their confidence in this historic cause and their readiness to implement it to the end. The restructuring process which is under way in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and the other socialist countries will increase the political impact of this festive day throughout the world, because it creates an new atmosphere in international life and gives new impetus to all progressive processes, because it rejects the stagnating dogmas and cliches, and because it opens much wider opportunities to the unification of all forces for the sake of lofty ideas and noble aspirations that are common to all mankind.

At the May Day celebrations scheduled to take place in enterprises and inhabited settlements, the working people in our country express their feelings and fraternal unity with those who are fighting for peace and disarmament; with workers in the capitalist countries, who are engaged in the struggle against exploitation and unemployment; with peoples in the developing countries who oppose the predatory attempts of the supranational corporations, and with all those who are fighting for their rights and democratic freedoms, who are involved in a merciless struggle against dictatorial and racist regimes.

Comrades, according to our socialist traditions, May Day has become a day of praise and respect for labor, and along with this, a day of assessing our efforts and deeds. Throughout our country these days the labor collectives are assessing their work, analyzing their achievements, and paying tribute to the most meritorious workers. On the eve or our holiday, dozens of collectives were awarded for their very great contribution to socioeconomic development in 1987 and were presented the red flags of labor glory. These collectives have achieved top results in production; they have increased the technical standards and the quality of their products; they have provided much better conditions for work and recreation.

As a result of the labor collectives' efforts, 1987 was concluded with economic results which ensure a positive and stable rate of economic development. The national income increased by 5.1 percent, social labor productivity increased by 5.2 percent, and the average monthly wages of workers and employees increased by 3.5 percent. During the first quarter of 1988 an even more pronounced trend toward an increase in the rates of development and the consolidation of positive processes emerged.

The greatest credit for these positive results certainly was earned by the front-ranking collectives and enterprises, but in order to ensure the progress of our entire national economy all groups of the workers class, of the agricultural toilers, and of the people's intelligentsia have contributed their share. The BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the Central Council of Trade Unions congratulate the banner carriers of labor glory, the front-rankers in socialist construction, the creative workers who produce intellectual assets, and all working people in our country on the occasion of their militant holiday of labor—May Day—expressing their gratitude and recognition to them for the efforts they devote to the great achievements, which are innovating our socialist fatherland.

Comrades, labor has always been the source of all wealth, the motive force of all progress. Nevertheless, the results of labor are not always the same—they depend on economic conditions; on the level of the technical base; on the initiative of management and administration, on the people's quality and behavior. We live in an epoch of serious re-evaluation and restructuring of all these factors today. Our party and our entire society are engaged in the revolutionary deal of opening up full opportunities to labor initiative and to the activities of individuals on the basis of their interests.

The main field of restructuring in which we are implementing this cause is the field of labor. The innovative research and initiatives of the party are aimed at this sphere in connection with innovation and further construction of socialism in our country. A new situation is created, bold and offensive actions are under way, aimed at radical changes in the social relations, in management and administration. Ideas about labor under socialism that were established and consolidated throughout several decades are disintegrating and new visions are developing, new forms of mutual relations and working life are emerging. The goal is radically to change the behavior of the collectives and individuals within the labor process, to change their relations with socialist property, and to establish their real power and rights, so that they may resolve their own problems, adopt their own decisions, and be responsible for their own deeds.

Our party has long since felt the need for such change. It was able to develop an entire new vision on the further construction of socialism in our country, which the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee and the BCP National Conference transformed into a strategy of our future development. This strategy promptly acquires an applicable form, with such large-scale and important activities as placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives; transforming municipalities into self-governing communities; ensuring equal rights and diversity in the forms of property; introducing uniform economic regulators with reforms of wages and prices. It is necessary for us resolutely to part with numerous ideas and habits, legal instructions, and administrative structures, with outdated principles and postulates, which produced levelling, which resulted in alienation from labor and property, and which erected barriers obstructing the initiative and active involvement of the working people.

These are initiatives of a revolutionary nature which are aimed at creating a sold alliance between the work of the individuals and collectives and their interests, which are likely to open up opportunities for independence and for a spirit of economic enterprise. There is no doubt that problems and difficulties will inevitably emerge along this path. They are already appearing. Failures are also possible, but this is a path toward the raising the role of labor as the motive force of progress and prosperity, the best yardstick for assessing man's qualities and his role in life and society.

These aspirations and bold initiatives, the changes, and problems in the labor sphere will illuminate tomorrow's celebrations and will merge with new strength into the century-old tradition of May Day celebrations.

Let us rejoice at a happy May Day, comrades. Long live the fraternal solidarity of working people for the sake of peace, of free labor, and of man's well-being!

Stanishev Departs SFRY

AU0305125188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 May 88 p 4

[Text] The delegation of the BCP Central Committee, headed by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, returned from Belgrade yesterday. The delegation visited Yugoslavia at the invitation of the LCY.

A plan was coordinated in the Yugoslav capital on cooperation between the BCP and the LCY for the 1988-89 period. Opinions were exchanged on questions of interest to both parties and countries.

The delegation was welcomed by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Balev Returns From Kabul 29 Apr

AU0305114988 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] The delegation headed by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, returned from Kabul yesterday. The delegation attended the celebrations on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution in Afghanistan.

The delegation was welcomed at Sofia Airport by Grisha Filipov, member of the Central Committee Politburo.

Mehrabuddin Paktiawal, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Afghanistan to Bulgaria, and Vladimir Ivanisov, charge d'affaires ad interim of the USSR embassy, were among those present at the airport.

More on Visit of Tanzania's Joseph Warioba

Atanasov Speaks at Dinner

AU0405092288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 May 88 p 4

[Toast proposed by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at official dinner given in honor of Joseph Warioba, prime minister of Tanzania, on 30 April in Sofia]

[Text] Our present talks are a natural continuation of the existing traditional contacts between our two countries, Comrade Georgi Atanasov said. They stem from our mutual desire for a friendly, businesslike exchange of ideas and opinions, as well as for the development of bilateral relations, and for discussion on a wide range of important international issues.

The 25th anniversary of relations between our two states was celebrated in 1987, both in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in the United Republic of Tanzania, in similar ways the chairman of the Council of Ministers pointed out. The meetings and talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Julius Nyerere in 1979 in Sofia played a decisive role for the fruitful development of our relations. Since that time our mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres is steadily strengthening. Close, friendly relations exist between the BCP and the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, between mass and and social organizations in both countries. The results of our economic relations are numerous; they represent a real and tangible embodiment of our common interests and are a basis for the further development of economic cooperation for which many still untapped opportunities exist.

Comrade Georgi Atanasov pointed out that we are following with sincere, friendly interest the great efforts of the Tanzanian people to implement the decisions of the Third Congress of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party. The tasks we are coping with are different, but we are united by numerous common objectives. I assure you that you can further rely on our support in your just struggle, the Bulgarian government leader stated in closing his toast.

Visits Sofia Institute

AU0305183088 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpt] On 3 May Tanzanian Premier Joseph Warioba accompanied by Georgi Atanasov, visited Sofia's Institute of Computer Equipment and Technology. [passage omitted]

Received by Zhivkov

AU0305183988 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, today received Mr Joseph Warioba, prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, who is paying an official visit here. In a friendly atmosphere they exchanged views on the state and the prospects of bilateral cooperation, as well as on some key international issues.

It was pointed out with satisfaction that over the last few years, Bulgaro-Tanzanian contacts have been steadily progressing in the best interests of the two friendly countries' peoples. Particular attention was paid to the existing opportunities, which are not yet sufficiently used, for the application of modern, progressive forms of techno-scientific cooperation. In this connection, an emphasis was laid on the need to seek new ways for cooperation, for the establishment of joint ventures, for better team work in economics, tourism, trade and culture.

Mr Joseph Warioba expressed gratitude for the assistance which Bulgaria renders to his country in the construction of major economic projects and stressed the contribution of Bulgarian experts.

Mr Todor Zhivkov briefed the guest on the tasks which the Bulgarian people fulfill at this stage in keeping with the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and of the BCP National Conference, on the processes of restructuring underway in all spheres of life in this country. He pointed to Tanzania's contribution and role in the Non-aligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity and her particularly active participation in the Delhi Group of Six, seeking a strengthening of world peace and security.

The Tanzanian premier told his host about the priorities facing his country's people in fulfillment of the guidelines of the Third Congress of the Chama Cha Mapinduzi Party. He laid emphasis on Bulgaria's international prestige and on her consistent peace loving policy in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

The sides commended highly the Soviet-American INF Treaty as well as the efforts by all peace loving forces in the world toward easing international tensions, for peaceful cooperation and understanding among the peoples.

The session was attended by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Seen Off by Atanasov, Kubadinski

AU0405071488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Joseph Warioba, prime minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, has completed his official visit to Bulgaria. This morning the eminent guest departed from Bulgaria.

At Sofia Airport Joseph Warioba was seen off by Comrades Georgi Atanasov and Pencho Kubadinski and by other officials.

At a meeting with representatives of the mass media, Joseph Warioba stated that his meetings and talks in Sofia were very constructive and frank.

The relations between Bulgaria and Tanzania are traditionally friendly. The leaders of the two countries have had several opportunities to meet for talks, to discuss issues concerning the further development of bilateral cooperation. I think that my present visit will contribute to further expanding and deepening our relations. We adopted very important decisions for strengthening our cooperation in various fields, said Joseph Warioba.

Protocol Signed

AU0405091288 Sofia BTA in English 0713 GMT 4 May 88

["Bulgaro-Tanzanian Talks End"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—The heads of government of Bulgaria and Tanzania late last night reaffirmed their countries' preparedness to persevere in promoting and diversifying bilateral cooperation.

After their final session of talks, Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, and Mr Joseph Warioba, prime minister of Tanzania, who paid an official visit here, signed a protocol on their discussions.

The Tanzanian premier, who left the country this morning, told the press that he was pleased with his visit to Bulgaria and that he was convinced the decisions made during the trip would help strengthen two-way cooperation.

Mr Joseph Warioba commended highly the Soviet-American INF Treaty and reaffirmed the readiness of Tanzania and of the Delhi Group of Six to go on working for the elimination of mass destruction weapons. Mankind can't go on living in fear, he said.

Concerning the problems of Southern Africa, the guest said they were due to the policy of Pretoria, to South Africa's apartheid, to the attempts to destabilize that part of the world. There will be no peace in the south of Africa as long as there is no change in the political system in South Africa, Mr Joseph Warioba emphasised.

Greek CP Working Group Visit Reported

AU0305115088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] A working group of the Greek Communist Party [KKE] Central Committee, headed by Kharalambos Atgurakis, candidate member of the KKE Central Committee, departed from our country. In accordance with the plan on cooperation between the BCP and the KKE, the working group was briefed on our party's activities in connection with public opinion research. The working group was received by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Palestinian TU Delegation Pays Visit

AU0305185688 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 29 Apr 88 p 4

[Unattributed Report: "Solidarity With the Struggle of the Palestinian People"]

[Excerpts] At the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions a delegation of the General Confederation of the Trade Unions of the West Bank of the River Jordan visited the People's Republic of Bulgaria from 25 to 28 April.

The Palestinian trade union delegation visited Sofia, Pernik, and the village of Kovachevtsi—the birthplace of Georgi Dimitrov. The delegation had talks with Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, and representatives of the Commission on International Activity of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. [passage omitted]

During the talks it was stressed that, because of the difficult situation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for the Palestinian people, now more than ever it is necessary to express solidarity with and support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian state. The two sides expressed their deep conviction that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can only be achieved through the convocation of an international conference under UN auspices, with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO—the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people. [passage omitted]

The Palestinian delegation expressed its cordial gratitude for the political and material assistance rendered by the BCP, which represents the international traditions of the Bulgarian working people.

An agreement was reached on providing additional assistance to the General Federation of the Trade Unions of the West Bank of the River Jordan on the part of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Briefs

New Engineering Organization

An agreement was signed last night at the new headquarters of the Transport Technical Equipment trade bank attached to the Transportation, Agricultural, and Technical Equipment Association, on the establishment of a Bulgarian-West German joint company. The Balkankarkomplekt trade bank, the Koch Transport Technik and the Merkur Holzin Engineering firm are members of the joint company. The goal is to engage in exports, imports, and transfer of technologies in the first place, as well as of machines, complete installations, and engineering services. [Text] [*AU0305124888 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Apr 88 p 5*]

Lenart on Opposition, Church-State Relations
LD0305135288 Prague CTK in English 1240 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—Jozef Lenart told the Congress of Czechoslovak Anti-Fascist Fighters today that restructuring can be successful only if it becomes an affair of the whole of society.

The Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, who is heading a party, National Front government delegation to the congress, stressed that it is the duty of all National Front organizations to help seek a just and responsible approach of citizens to restructuring and unite their stands and will in the spirit of the Communist Party line, endorsed by the National Front organizations.

"In contrast with this are the intentions of the class enemy who would like to halt and thwart our progress. The consent of the popular masses with the restructuring is accompanied by the activation of domestic and foreign opponents," Jozef Lenart said.

"They set up various groups with the aim to form opposition forces and cause political tension and a confrontation with the policy of the National Front and government. They want to capitalize on the problems of restructuring and democratization of our society, to misuse economic and ecological problems, ethnic and religious sentiments, national traditions and cultural and artistic activity."

"Some problems do exist in relations between the Vatican and the state, but they can be resolved one by one," the party Presidium member said.

"There is consensus and goodwill between state representatives and the churches to assess the existing problems in serious talks. After all, the agreement between the Czechoslovak Government and the Vatican on new bishops of the Roman Catholic Church is convincing proof of this."

Jozef Lenart said that "the Communist Party and the whole National Front have entered the process of restructuring aware that it will be carried out not only by members of the Communist Party but also by members of political parties and other organizations grouped in the National Front, Czechs, Slovaks and other nationalities, people whose consciousness is formed by social tradition. Faith need not be in the way of these citizens' struggle for restructuring and peace," Jozef Lenart stated.

Temporary Diocesan Administrator Appointed
AU0305121588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Apr 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Temporary Administrator of the Roznava Diocesan"]

[Text] Bratislava—Under canon regulation No 421, paragraph 2, of the Church Law Codex, Jozef Feranc, doctor of theology, bishop of Banska Bystrica, and chairman of the Corps of Ordinaries in Slovakia, appointed Tibor Spisak, director of the Episcopal Office in Roznava, the new diocesan administrator and temporary administrator of the Roznava diocese. The administrator was appointed in connection with the demise of Abbot Zoltan Jozef Belak, chapter vicar of Roznava diocese.

Spokesman Pavel Gives Press Conference 26 Apr
AU291739 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 88 p 2

[Report by Igor Sirota and Vladimir Plesnik: "Federal Government Is Preparing its Programmatic Statement"]

[Text] Prague—The newly formed CSSR Federal Government, which has 20 instead of 26 members, is working very intensively on the text of its programmatic statement and will familiarize deputies with the content at a 2-day joint session of both chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly on 3 May. This was stated by Miroslav Pavel, head of the CSSR Government's Press Section, in Prague on Tuesday [26 April], at his regular press conference for Czechoslovak and foreign journalists. He also said that there will be a cut of roughly 30 percent in the staff of central state agencies during the second half of this year. The number of deputy ministers and other senior officials will also be reduced.

Miroslav Konrad, an official at the Federal Ministry of Interior, provided information on the preparation of legal changes that are designed to resolve humanitarian issues, facilitate travel by Czechoslovak citizens to nonsocialist countries, and modify the practice of issuing visas. He said that the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium had assessed the situation in these areas and approved the principles of procedures that are to be applied in preparing new legislative norms.

It has been decided to facilitate and speed up family reunions, especially the reuniting of parents who live permanently abroad with their children and the reuniting of husbands and wives, which also applies to Czechoslovak citizens who have emigrated without permission. Czechoslovakia is also taking further steps concerning humanitarian cases so that it will be possible for relatives of a Czechoslovak citizen who live in capitalist states to make a quick visit—in the event of the Czechoslovak citizen's severe illness, for instance—by acquiring their CSSR entry visa directly at all border crossing points.

Effective 1 January 1989, all foreign citizens, with the exception of citizens of countries with which we do not maintain diplomatic relations, will be granted [CSSR] visas also at the Rozvadov, Dolni Dvoriste, Hate, and Petrzalka road border crossing points. This opportunity will be gradually expanded. Austrian citizens may also be granted multiple-entry visas. This facility will also be extended.

As for travel by Czechoslovak citizens to nonsocialist states, Miroslav Konrad said that possibilities for such travel have been extended recently with travel on the basis of special-purpose gifts covering travel expenses, foreign currency accounts, and invitations. The possibility is also being assessed of letting Czechoslovak citizens visit a nonsocialist country on the basis of an invitation that has been extended by a third person, who is not related to them. The decisive type of travel, however, is that which is conditional on the allocation of foreign currency funds. As the journalists learned, sufficient financial resources will be provided so that Czechoslovak citizens may receive a foreign currency allocation roughly once every 3 years.

At the same time, the question is being assessed of facilitating the issuing of travel documents, which can be applied for by every citizen. It should no longer be necessary, for instance, for people to furnish extracts from the police records [before applying for a passport].

The journalists were also told that current passports expire on 31 December 1988. The passport and visa departments have therefore been strengthened to ensure the replacement of passports. Last year 1.5 million citizens received new passports. Exit permits will still be required [in addition to passports] because they confirm that a Czechoslovak citizen has at his disposal the funds needed to finance travel to nonsocialist countries. Such evidence is required by, for example, Switzerland, Great Britain, the United States, and other countries.

Miroslav Konrad went on to say that 7.5 million trips abroad by Czechoslovak citizens are registered each year. This number will increase following the introduction of the new measures. The first changes will become effective this year and next. The citizens will be informed once they are approved.

It was also stressed at the press conference that we have a sincere, genuine, and eminent interest in balanced neighborly relations with Austria. The so-called decision of the Austrian Supreme Court to "punish" Czechoslovakia for building nuclear power plants has been denounced by Czechoslovakia as an unprecedented act of interference in our sovereignty (see the statement published by RUDE PRAVO on 23 April). I would like to express the conviction, Dusan Rovensky, spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said, that this situation will have no influence on our mutual dialogue, although it does not assist the creation of good relations.

Government Program Statement Discussed

LD0305220988 Prague CTK in English 1832 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly continued its session with a debate on the new federal government's program statement, in which 12 deputies, representing inter alia the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the People's Party and the Slovak Reconstruction Party took the floor.

The deputies pointed out the need to speedily carry out structural changes in the economy, to apply scientific knowledge in practice more consistently and to remove shortcomings in capital construction. They also drew attention to the necessity to increase the standard of housing construction and eliminate shortcomings on the consumer goods market.

Closing the debate, Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal appreciated the identity of the Czechoslovak Government's and the parliament's views on the present economic and social situation in Czechoslovakia and on what course of action must be taken in the forthcoming period. "We have now a clear idea how to shape restructuring, at what pace to advance in its implementation and what to do to complete it successfully. A guarantee of this is also the united and firm leadership of the party and state", Lubomir Strougal said.

At the close of the session the deputies unanimously adopted a resolution expressing confidence in the new government and hope that it will centre its attention on analysing and eliminating the causes of failures to fulfil the tasks of the 8th five-year plan, on systematically ensuring the society's comprehensive social development and growth of the living standard, on starting work on preparations for the 9th five-year plan and for a long-term outlook of socio-economic development, on ensuring the country's security and defence capability.

The resolution further expects the government to develop its foreign policy line within the coordinated policy of the socialist countries, to ensure consistent restructuring of the central bodies, a plan-based reconstruction of the manufacturing base of the economy and a timely preparation of all legal measures necessitated by the current comprehensive restructuring of Czechoslovakia's economic mechanism.

Report on 28 Apr Government Session

AU0305114188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Apr 88 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Session"]

[Text] Prague—At the first meeting after its appointment, the CSSR Government discussed a draft document on the course to be pursued by Czechoslovak agencies and organizations in the first stage of the coordination of the 1991-95 national economic plans of CEMA member states. In conjunction with changes in the management of the CEMA member countries' economies, this coordination will be prepared, for the first time, on three levels: on the level of governments,

ministries, and enterprises. At the same time, two previously separate documents—on the coordination of national economic plans and long-term trade agreements—will be merged into a single document.

All these changes make it essential to lay down even for the first stage of the coordination of plans basic points of departure that would orient agencies and organizations at all three levels in a direction that will conform with national needs. The complexity of the submitted draft stems from the fact that the long-term outlook for the economic development of the CSSR has not yet been completed and that the organizational structure of the economy, and the methods of its management, are undergoing a fundamental change at one and the same time. The same applies to the majority of CEMA partners. The restructuring of the mechanism of cooperation and of socialist economic integration and the concept of the international socialist division of labor of CEMA countries for 1991-2005, which is being drafted, also account for this complexity.

In discussing the draft document on the course of action to be pursued, the government stressed that, in preparing the coordination of national economic plans, it is necessary to see to it that it provide for gradual changes in structural economic policy in 1991-95. Main efforts must concentrate on the development of goods exchange between branches and sectors, based on a more efficient and intensive specialization and collaboration in scientific-technical policy and in manufacturing. Although the first stage of preparations for the coordination of plans will involve, for the time being, the reciprocal sounding out of possibilities and requirements, great attention must be devoted to the negotiations from the very beginning.

Another point on the agenda concerned Czechoslovak participation in the "Concept of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the CSSR and the USSR for 15 to 20 Years." The expediency of such a concept was reaffirmed at talks between the highest representatives of the two countries. In discussing the preliminary draft of this concept, the government noted, above all, that it is not just any dynamism of trade turnover that matters in further promoting economic relations between the CSSR and the USSR, but an efficient dynamic development of these relations. This naturally requires the transition in the exchange of goods to a new model of the division of labor—specialization and production sharing between branches and sectors. The government further stressed that the concept must create greater scope for structural changes in the Czechoslovak manufacturing industry, ensure the stability of our economic development through deliveries of needed fuels and raw and processed materials, enhance the involvement of the nonproduction sphere in economic relations, and, finally, more intensively apply new forms of collaboration, such as direct links and joint enterprises. It has issued an instruction to continue the work on the concept with this in mind.

The government discussed and approved the draft of a law on social security, which implements one of the social policy targets arising from the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress. The new codification of pension schemes should come into force on 1 October 1988 and will require extra expenditures of some Kcs4.5 billion annually. It will introduce changes in the manner of computing average monthly earnings, which will affect, in particular, new old-age pensions; the limits on highest pensions will be fixed anew; and existing constraints to percentage increases of basic pensions will be eased. Employment in preferred work categories will be projected into pensions more markedly, the lowest pensions will be raised, and the terms for the provision of some other benefits under the pension scheme will be rendered more advantageous. Adjustments of existing pensions, which will depend on the year in which the pension was awarded, will create preconditions for pensions not to lag behind economic development.

On the basis of preliminary discussion with deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils, the government has included in the draft law some additional changes, such as a benefit for widowers who look after at least one dependent child, higher minimum old-age and disability pensions, a lowering of the age limit (from 70 to 65 years), above which widows' pensions are no longer cut if they concur with revenues from their own gainful occupation, and greater differentials in supplementary payments and support for children with severely impaired health. At the same time, changes have been made in the assignment of working people to pension categories.

The draft law on agricultural cooperatives brings about a change of principle in dealing with labor-related issues with regard to members of united agricultural cooperatives, who will now become subject to the general provisions of the labor code. This fact has had to be projected into a standardization of conditions governing health insurance and mother-and-child care of employees and cooperative farmers. The government therefore discussed and approved a draft law on changes in health insurance, which consider these new legal and economic realities in the status of cooperative farmers.

The draft law on protected trademarks, which was also discussed and approved by the government, expresses the need for improved protection of industrial property that is the product of international economic cooperation. In Czechoslovakia and abroad, protected trademarks play an important role in differentiating between products and in determining their origin, quality, and the manufacturer's liability. The draft law therefore introduces a number of new legal institutes that are designed to enhance the legal basis of protected trademarks on the home and foreign markets.

Another subject discussed by the government were the draft measures to stabilize the domestic market in the years 1988-90. The current situation on the domestic

market is unsatisfactory and steps must be taken to improve it. In view of the complexity of the issues under discussion and the many connections that must be considered, the government decided that it is essential to propose within 2 weeks measures of principle, based on a realistic evaluation of the domestic market and our production and import possibilities, aimed at gradually achieving a balance between supply and demand.

The CSSR Government also discussed a draft agreement between the CSSR and the PRC on the basic directions of long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation and other proposals and reports.

Husak Appoints Pjescak to Prosecutor General

LD021653 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, today appointed Professor Jan Pjescak, doctor of law and doctor of sciences, to the office of prosecutor general of the CSSR, at the proposal of the CPCZ Central Committee and the National Front Central Committee, and in accordance with constitutional law. The newly appointed prosecutor general was sworn in today by the president of the Republic as prescribed by law.

Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, today installed Jan Pjescak in the office of the prosecutor general.

Jan Pjescak was born 10 February 1925 in Velky Lipnik in the district of Stara Lubovna into the family of a smallholder. He has been a party member since 1943. He has been engaged both in scientific work and in the teaching profession, and has been promoting actively the interests of Czechoslovak legal science in international organizations. He has been appointed a corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

Pjescak's Biography

LD022009 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 May 88

[Excerpts] At the recommendation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Central Committee of the National Front, Gustav Husak, the president of the Republic, today appointed Professor Jan Pjescak, doctor of sciences, to the office of prosecutor general of the CSSR. [passage omitted]

Jan Pjescak was born on 10 February 1925 in Velky Lipnik in the district of Stara Lubovna into a smallholder's family. He has been a member of the CPCZ since 1943. After the liberation, he worked as a journalist and in 1952 he graduated from the Faculty of Law of the Comenius University in Bratislava. He held a number of Czechoslovak prosecution posts, as well as teaching posts. From 1969 to 1982 he held the office of deputy federal minister of the interior. From 1974-1976 he was also the rector of the National Security Corps College in Prague. In 1982 he was appointed minister of justice of the SSR. Jan Pjescak held a number of party posts. At present he is a member of the CPSL Central Committee and Auditing Commission.

Jan Pjescak's work for the CPCZ and socialist society was acknowledged by the conferment on him of the Order of Victorious February, Order of Red Star, and other party and state distinctions.

Czechs, Poles Confer on FRG's Ostpolitik

AU0205152888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 88 p 2

["KOV"-signed report: "A Czechoslovak-Polish Discussion on FRG Policy"]

[Text] Prague—A Czechoslovak-Polish discussion on the topic "FRG Ostpolitik and Some of its Current Ideopolitical Aspects" was held at the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism on 26-27 April. The participants pointed to the objective and subjective factors in current European political affairs, especially to the important role played by the FRG within the framework of the world capitalist system.

The FRG's Ostpolitik has entered a relatively new phase. Its gist lies in expanding economic relations with socialist countries, in the development of cultural cooperation, and in the solution of humanitarian problems. On the other hand, the participants in the discussion stressed that ideological antagonism has not disappeared in Europe. Revanchist circles continue to speculate with a revision of European realities. Although they speak about peace policy, their deeds demonstrate that they have retained the old political thinking. The discussion also referred to the peace proposals of M. Jakes and W. Jaruzelski aimed at enhancing trust, cooperation, and good relations with the FRG.

The Polish delegation was led by Professor Doctor Antoni Czubinski, candidate of sciences, director of the Western Studies Institute in Poznan; the Czechoslovak delegation by Professor Ladislav Hrzal, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, chief of Section III [Roman three] at the CPCZ Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

RUDE PRAVO Interviews SPD's Rau

AU0205183188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 88 p 7

[Interview with Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia and SPD deputy chairman, by RUDE PRAVO reporter Miroslav Kubin in Bonn: "For the Deepening of Trust"—date not given]

[Text] Johannes Rau, SPD deputy chairman and minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia, will visit Prague on Thursday [3 May]. Before leaving for the CSSR, he granted an interview to our Bonn reporter.

[Kubin] Mr Minister-President, you are going to Prague at the invitation of the government of the Czech SR. What is the main thing you want to discuss?

[Rau] The occasion for this trip is the day of North Rhine-Westphalia in Prague, which is meant to introduce our industry. We have good relations with the CSSR; in the last few months good cooperation has also developed in environmental protection and ecological technology. Our minister, Mathiesen visited Prague, and his colleague in the Czech Government came to our country. The main thing now is to deepen our contacts. But we will also discuss political issues in general and assess the situation after the conclusion of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles.

[Kubin] What significance do you attach to the treaty?

[Rau] First, the treaty does not concern only armament control and limitation, but also real disarmament. This is also the direction in which we must proceed.

[Kubin] Will you discuss the prospects of realizing the proposal to create a nuclear- and chemical-arms-free zone?

[Rau] Naturally, I will express my social-democratic ideas about the nuclear- and chemical-free zone. I know that on this subject a far-reaching accord exists with the Czechoslovak side, because we have tried to sound out the areas in which it exists, in many talks, but also on the party level; we are glad that our views on this matter do not substantially differ. We must now begin the second stage of detente, which is aimed at further limiting nuclear arms on both sides and at achieving conventional disarmament.

The second stage of detente naturally involves increased economic and cultural exchange. I come from Wuppertal, which is also where I live; thus, I am glad that it is the first West German city to have partnership relations with Kosice. There will be a friendly cross-country run from Wuppertal to Kosice held in May, under the patronage of the two foreign ministers. I, too, have helped to prepare this event a little....I think that my visit to Prague can help to promote the adoption of further confidence-building measures.

[Kubin] The SPD is also talking about a second stage of "Ostpolitik." What does this involve?

[Rau] The same thing as the second stage of detente: that is to say—nuclear and conventional disarmament, economic and cultural exchange. Economic exchange also involves cutting down the so-called COCOM list, since we want to cooperate in many spheres.

[Kubin] What exchange opportunities are there between young people in your federal province and the CSSR?

[Rau] We have made appropriate suggestions on several occasions, but no adequate progress has yet materialized. This is connected with our development of similar efforts to achieve exchanges with many other countries, including the Soviet Union and particularly France and Israel. Young people from the FRG and the CSSR naturally have many contacts—above all, the young people in southern Germany, which is geographically closer to the CSSR than North Rhine-Westphalia.

In recent years, we have built up good cooperation on the parliamentary level. We have a Czechoslovak-West German group of deputies and the FRG-Czechoslovak Society. The better we learn to know each other, the greater prerequisites we will have for deepening and strengthening our relations.

[Kubin] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, recently proposed the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the NATO states and the Warsaw Pact. How do you view this initiative?

[Rau] Above all, I am looking forward to meeting Mr Jakes—to being able to speak to him about the elements of his plan. Our country is bisected by a border. It is good that Erich Honecker once said that he hopes the time will come when the border will cease to have its divisive character. I think that the Jakes Plan is also part of these endeavors. We have taken note of it with great attention.

[Kubin] Are you also interested in Czechoslovak restructuring?

[Rau] Of course, and from two viewpoints: I am interested in the way the Czechoslovak partners assess Soviet restructuring and the flow of information to the public; but also in the way things are in Czechoslovakia in this sense. I have heard that every country must find its own way. I would like to know how similar Czechoslovak and Soviet restructuring are.

[Kubin] Mr Minister-President, thank you for the interview.

Fojtik Receives Polish Education Minister

LD021816 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee received Henryk Bednarski, Polish minister of national education today. They discussed the implementation of educational policies in the two countries and the further intensification of cooperation in the upbringing and education of the young generation.

Communique Issued on Chnoupek's Egypt Visit
LD021350 Prague CTK in English
1431 GMT 28 Apr 88

["Excerpts from Czechoslovak-Egyptian Communique"—CTK headline]

[Text] Cairo April 28 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and his Egyptian counterpart 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid reviewed the latest development in the Middle East and expressed their deep concern over the deteriorating situation in the occupied territories, said a communique on Minister Chnoupek's official visit April 25-28.

The two sides paid tribute to the uprising of the Palestinian people against Israeli occupation. They denounced the brutal, inhuman acts perpetrated by the Israeli Army and armed settlers against the unarmed civilian population including women and children, and condemned the illegal deportations of Palestinians from the occupied territories, as well as all acts of terrorism and political assassinations directed against the Palestinian leadership, the communique said.

The two ministers called for Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination.

They reaffirmed their support to the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all parties concerned including the PLO and the permanent members of the Security Council.

The communique said the talks between the foreign ministers of the two countries were held in a friendly atmosphere and covered all aspects of bilateral relations as well as the present international situation.

They noted with satisfaction that the present Czechoslovak-Egyptian relations are developing favorably with full respect for the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and for mutual interests.

Both sides expressed their appreciation for the progress achieved in all fields of cooperation and called for further development of cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and scientific spheres to the benefit of both countries and their peoples.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid welcomed the Geneva Agreements on the Political [words indistinct] National Reconciliation, based on the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future.

The two ministers expressed their satisfaction at the Soviet-American intermediate nuclear forces treaty, signed last year, pointing out that this treaty should pave the way towards reaching other agreements concerning nuclear and chemical disarmament, a ban on nuclear tests and a decrease in military expenditure. They voiced the hope that the Moscow summit, due at the end of this month, will be an opportunity for further advance towards these ends.

The Czechoslovak and Egyptian ministers also expressed hope that genuine progress may be achieved in elaborating a comprehensive and balanced document at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In this respect the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighborly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states is considered a positive step towards peace and security, the communique said.

Aware of the interdependence of European security and that of the Mediterranean basin, the two sides emphasized the need for the transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and cooperation.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid expressed their concern about the continuous escalation of the Iran-Iraq war. They noted with dismay the renewed bombing of cities, causing heavy civilian casualties, as well as the extension of naval operations and attacks on economic targets in the region.

The ministers condemned the inhuman policy of apartheid in South Africa and expressed support for the people of Namibia in their struggle for independence. They also stressed the part played by the Organization of African Unity in the African countries' struggle for development and progress.

'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid accepted an invitation by Bohuslav Chnoupek to pay an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

Mozambican Minister Speaks, Departs 3 May
LD0305175488 Prague CTK in English
1510 GMT 3 May 88

["Mozambican Minister Gives News Conference Before Leaving Prague"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague May 3 (CTK)—The visit to Czechoslovakia was a contribution to excellent relations of friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Mozambique, and to the further deepening of bilateral contacts and the exchange of information, visiting Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi told journalists here Tuesday at the end of his visit to Czechoslovakia.

He appreciated Czechoslovakia's solidarity with Mozambique and other south African countries, adding that during the talks with prominent party and government representatives he was assured of Czechoslovakia's support influencing deeply the economic, social and

cultural development of his country. The expansion of cooperation is, however, still hampered by the struggle against the aggression, mainly on the part of the apartheid regime. "Nevertheless, we must strive for deeper cooperation", the Mozambican minister said, and added that the Mozambican people will follow the experience from the past, as Czechoslovakia provided support to them from the beginning of their national liberation struggle.

The Mozambican foreign minister pointed out that besides bilateral cooperation, the two sides dealt also with current international topics. They expressed concern over the preservation of world peace, and supported further development of disarmament in the world.

Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi ended his friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia later today and left Prague.

CPCZ's Hanus Receives Cuban Party Secretary

AU0305121788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Apr 88 p 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "Comradely Meeting With Cuban Guest"]

[Text] Prague—Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received Jaime Crombet, member of the Central Committee Secretariat of the Communist Party of Cuba, who is on a brief visit to the CSSR, in Prague on 29 April. In a cordial friendly talk the two representatives discussed certain issues connected with the further development of industrial cooperation between the CSSR and Cuba.

The meeting was attended by Karel Erbes, CPCZ Central Committee department head. Mario Rodriguez Martinez, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the CSSR, was also present.

CPCZ's Kempny Returns From Kabul

AU0405103988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Apr 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Return From Kabul"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak party and state delegation headed by Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council, returned on Thursday [28 April] from Kabul after attending the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the country's national and democratic revolution.

SRV Minister Welcomes Jakes Initiative

AU281735 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Apr 88 p 7

[CTK report: "A Step Toward Lessening Tension"]

[Text] Hanoi—The proposal to set up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states is very important at a time when the militarist circles of NATO generate an atmosphere of confrontation and reject disarmament proposals advanced by the Warsaw Pact member states.

This was declared by Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Communist Party of Vietnam, deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and minister of foreign affairs, in an interview with the CTK correspondent, in which he expressed the attitude of the SRV to the peace initiative of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Nguyen Co Thach stressed that this initiative is an essential step toward lessening tension, averting the threat of a nuclear war, and preserving peace and security in Europe and in the world.

Nguyen Co Thach declared that the SRV sincerely welcomes and fully supports the peace initiative and the goodwill of Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

CPC Study Delegation Departs

AU0305161288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Apr 88 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A study delegation of the CPC Central Committee led by Wang Renzhi, member of the CPC Central Committee and director of the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, left Prague on Thursday [28 April]. The delegation was in the CSSR at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

SED CC Issues 1988 Party Elections Directive

AU291251 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Apr 88 p 3

["Directive of the SED Central Committee for Carrying Out the 1988 Party Elections; SED Central Committee Politburo Resolution of 26 April 1988"]

[Text] In accordance with the SED statute and the SED Central Committee elections regulations,

—in the period between 12 September 1988 and 12 November 1988 accountability reports will be submitted, and the party group organizers and their deputies, the leaderships of the departmental party organizations and of the basic organizations, and of the central party leaderships and local leaderships will be newly elected;

—in the period between 3 December 1988 and 10 December 1988 the delegates' conferences will take place, during which accountability reports will be submitted and kreis leaderships, city bezirk leaderships, and city leaderships will be newly elected .

I. [Roman one] In keeping with the SED program, the 1988 party elections are marked by the further implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress. This period is characterized by the greatest activity on the part of our party's members and candidate members, and of all working people in implementing our party's general line in the decisive year of the 1986-90 5-year plan, which is aimed at the well-being of the people.

It is the basic concern of the party elections to give a concrete assessment in the basic organizations and kreis leaderships of the results obtained in implementing the tasks set by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at his meeting with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships, during which the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress were discussed. Another basic concern is to determine what measures are required to increase the leadership quality of the party organizations and their leaders, as well as the militant advancement by all members and candidate members to the level determined by the new challenges. In this, we start from the premise that the party serves the people and that it is the party members' highest privilege to serve the people. This is the decisive precondition for steadily deepening the trusting relationship between the party and the people.

The matter involves increasing ideopolitical work in every party collective and determining the concrete contribution to the consistent continuation of the unity of economic and social policy, to strengthening and protecting socialism, as well as to safeguarding peace. Through unified and concerted actions and in trusting alliance with citizens, the party organizations ensure that the ideas, initiatives, and readiness to take action on the part of all are fully developed and realized.

The party organizations allow themselves to be guided by these demanding yardsticks in the constructive democratic discussion about the results that have been obtained so far and the tasks that have to be resolved on the way that still lies ahead of us. In this, the accountability election meetings and delegates' conferences, on the basis of the successful record in implementing the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, directed their efforts particularly toward the struggle to comprehensively fulfill and overfulfill the challenging targets of the national economic plan and of the pledges undertaken. They trigger vigorous impulses for a high level of commitment to work and the broad application of the experiences of the best; examine the causes of the impediments and deficiencies in work in a critical and self-critical manner; and consistently ensure that the necessary changes that yield the required results are brought about.

The party collectives discuss the great challenges in their political work that result from the SED's enhanced leading role in further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR as a process of fundamental political, social, and intellectual-cultural changes.

In preparing and carrying out the accountability election meetings and delegates' conferences, the comrades discuss in an open and candid manner how the tasks that have been adopted can be realized in an even more fruitful manner through the efforts of every individual and of the entire collective. Thus, the party elections are proving to be an expression of the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism and the broad development of intraparty democracy. The party elections contribute to promoting and perfecting all means and forms of our socialist democracy.

Such an approach must have the effect that successes and exemplary achievements are duly appreciated, that everything is described as it is, that no questions remain unanswered, that no problems are avoided, and that nothing is palliated. A workstyle must be created that is characterized by creative restlessness and militant consistency in fulfilling the set tasks and goals; that does not leave any room for hampering habits, formalism, and bureaucratic attitudes, or for shifting one's own responsibility onto others.

The ideological strengthening of the comrades and the enhancement of their ability to explain the party's policy, which is close to the masses, in a convincing manner, to motivate the masses, to involve them all in the examination of all issues, and to win them over to active participation in implementing the resolutions, characterizes the accountability reports, the discussion, and the adoption of the resolutions.

This is linked with the necessity to make people even more aware of socialism's superiority, its values, advantages, and achievements, to examine in a class-conscious manner the ideology and policies of imperialism on the basis of firm principles, and to increase political awareness.

In view of these demands and in consideration of the preparations for the 70th anniversary of the founding of the DKP and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the party elections are a great concern that involves society as a whole.

II. [Roman two] In preparing and carrying out the party elections, a broad offensive of the ideas of socialism and peace will be launched on the basis of Comrade Erich Honecker's speech at the meeting with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships. From the analysis of the party work and work among the masses, the party organizations draw concrete conclusions for their own political work and organize trusting and differentiated discussions with all citizens in order to enhance the understanding of the indivisible link between strong socialism and a secure peace, and to make the dialectics in the present-day class struggle more profound. They discuss how, on the basis of the impressive balance sheet of 40 years of development in the GDR, particularly since the Eighth SED Congress, the pride in what has been achieved through cooperation and the affection for and loyalty to the worker-peasant state, can be further developed and lead to new initiatives in solving the challenging tasks.

This requires that every comrade be enabled to approach all questions and problems from firm class positions, to link the political day-to-day events with the basic truths of our Marxist-Leninist ideology so that he is in a position to explain to all working people, in a convincing manner, the policy of peaceful coexistence, of reason and realism, the flexibility and toughness in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and detente. From this results the responsibility and obligation for all comrades to unmask the goals of the enemies of socialism and of those opposed to disarmament and detente, to resolutely counter all defamations and provocations against the policy of the party and the socialist state, and to refuse to permit penetration of antisocialist views anywhere.

Above all, the wealth of arguments and information is to be purposefully used in implementing socialism's peace strategy for work among the masses in such a way that all working people, under the slogan "My workplace—my battle station for peace," make their own great contribution to strengthening the efficiency of the GDR in the party's main battlefield, the unity of economic and social policy.

The tasks in further strengthening the fraternal alliance with the communist and workers parties and the indestructible friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the socialist states are discussed by the party collectives. They determine how to meet their specific responsibility in fulfilling the tasks outlined in the comprehensive CEMA program and the government agreements.

In preparing and carrying out the party elections, the party leaderships ensure that every comrade complies with the demands of being an active fighter on the ideological front. Ideological steadfastness, militant commitment, and exemplary and disciplined actions are decisive for the comrades' political work. In this way they strengthen the confidence in the policy of the party, make an active contribution to a sound political climate in their sphere of responsibility, and day in, day out they stand the test as representatives [vertraute] in their work collectives and their residential areas.

The kreis leaderships and basic organizations decide how all tested forms and methods of ideological work, the core of party work, can be used with even more effect on the masses and can be further improved for this purpose. This has to start with a thorough evaluation of the militant strength of the party collectives and the differentiated assessment of the situation, the mood, and the opinions in the work collectives. From that the party organizations draw specific conclusions for their work with the agitators and propagandists, for oral agitation and the party school year, for the political qualification of the leaders and the comrades in the state organs and mass organizations to enable them to implement the party decisions, for their regular appearance before the working people, and for a generally higher standard of political work among the masses.

The accountability election meetings and delegates' conferences pay particular attention to continuous political work with all young people and to their class-consistent education. The focal point is to convey the ideals, goals, and achievements of our socialist society to the young people in a convincing way, and to further develop the young people's love for their homeland and their readiness for top achievements for the overall strengthening of the GDR and for its reliable protection. Support for the socialist youth association in implementing the "GDR 40 FDJ Call" is to be especially aimed at this. Our party's principle of always putting trust in the young people and of giving them great responsibility must be specifically implemented by means of demanding competition targets and achievement projects for the scientific-technological work of the youth brigades and youth research collectives as well as for the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow movement.

The kreis leaderships and basic organizations aim their political work with the people at developing even more effectively socialist democracy in line with the tested principle of "Participate in working, in planning, in governing," at organizing the active, knowledgable participation of all citizens in state and social affairs, and at reacting responsibly to their proposals, suggestions, and criticism. Trusting work with the people is and remains the most important aspect of the work of all party leaderships in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress that are aimed at the people's welfare. By means of close cooperation with the deputies of the local elected assemblies and the friendly parties and social

organizations united in the GDR National Front, the party organizations make sure that local policy issues are an integral part of the daily political talks with the people and provide high education and culture, good health care, varied opportunities for leisure activities, and a generally well-functioning daily life in towns and villages.

III. [Roman three] Guided by the tasks outlined by Comrade Erich Honecker at the conference of the Central Committee Secretariat with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships, the accountability election meetings and delegates' conferences assess the results, experiences, and problems in implementing the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. They analyze the course of the 1988 plan and the state of preparations for the 1989 plan and draw the necessary conclusions for the political leadership of the struggle for their own high contribution to the stable, dynamic growth in performance and efficiency of the national economy.

Proceeding from the great readiness for achievements in the party and work collectives and their pledges in the militant programs and competition decisions, all political work is to be focused—in preparation of the party elections—on safeguarding high performances per workday in enterprises, scientific institutions, and workshops, at construction sites, in the fields, and in the animal sheds. Holding the accountability election meetings and delegates' conferences with plans generally fulfilled is a matter of honor and duty for every party collective.

Based on the results achieved and on the proposals and suggestions emerging from the discussion on the 1989 national economic plan, the basic organizations are working out the necessary positions and targets for ambitious militant programs for 1989.

The party organizations deal mainly with those factors that have a decisive influence on the growth of labor productivity as the prerequisite for consistent implementation of economic and social policy. These are primarily issues concerning the full assumption of political responsibility in order to increase the economic and social efficiency of science and technology and to establish even closer links between science and production, to ensure that investment projects are put into operation on schedule and with the planned performance characteristics, and to bring about comprehensive rationalization and flexible automation through the application of key technologies and a high-quality management of the entire reproduction process.

The party collectives discuss and decide how state managers can be enabled and supported in a better way to achieve this goal; how political motivation of the working people can be carried out more efficiently; and how they can be involved in solving problems on the basis of professional skills. On the proven path of intensification and based on the people's creativity, it is a question of tapping the intellectual and material potentials in a more comprehensive manner and of ensuring that the performance development is always coupled with the systematic improvement of working and living conditions. This includes future-oriented and task-related organization of political and vocational basic and advanced training of the cadres.

In socialist competition, the working people's wealth of ideas, the experiences of the exemplary workers, innovators, and rationalizers are to be used to an even greater extent to utilize the best performances in the shortest possible time at every workplace.

The accountability election meetings and the delegates' conferences give a profound assessment of fulfillment of targets in consumer goods production. They analyze and apply on a broad basis the best experiences in political management of these processes and decide how the efficiency of the enterprises and combines is to be increased to ensure an even better supply to the population. The party collectives direct the political struggle toward increased utilization of scientific progress, particularly of key technologies, for the production of well-designed high-quality consumer goods for domestic demand and for export that correspond to consumer requirements.

In political leadership activities, more attention is to be devoted to accountability reports on fulfillment of tasks assumed and pledges undertaken. Above all, the comrades discuss how party control can be oriented even more effectively toward full realization of the decisive tasks in performance development, particularly toward the consistent fulfillment of all state plan positions, the securing of a continuous production as well as stable cooperation and the steady supply of subcontractor products.

In the accountability reports as well as during the constructive and open exchange of views, the comrades deal with insufficient results regarding the efficient use of society's work potential and production assets, regarding the reduction of influenceable nonproductive periods and of costs, the increase of the quality of the work and products, as well as the reduction of specific consumption of energy, raw materials, and other materials. They decide on concrete measures to change the situation, to tap the great internal reserves, and to overcome unjustifiable differences in levels through performance comparison and exchange of experiences.

Other points of emphasis are the consequences of ideological permeation and political management of economic processes. These goals must always be combined with the ability of the comrades to set examples in their work collectives in the struggle to persistently observe party and state discipline and to ensure a high level of order and security in order to prevent damage, fires, and other disturbances.

Ideopolitical and party-oriented educational work is to be increasingly aimed at ensuring comradely and trusting relationships between the managers and their collectives, at developing everywhere a creative atmosphere for fruitful work where everybody assumes his personal responsibility at his workplace in keeping with the truth that prevails in the GDR that the involvement of all citizens in the solution of social tasks renders possible the broad development of socialist democracy.

In preparing for and holding party elections, party organizations are intensifying their efforts to make sure—together with local organs of the state power and the National Front committees—that all possibilities of regional rationalization are comprehensively tapped and that, as a result, favorable conditions for a performance increase in enterprises and cooperatives are established and citizens' living, working, and housing conditions continue to be tangibly improved. For this purpose, teamwork between local state organs, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions in the regions, and private businessmen and tradesmen, is to be further expanded, also with the aid of municipal contracts. The accountability election meetings and delegates' conferences discuss and decide how they can make sure—in line with their responsibility—that the housing question will be solved as a social problem by 1990 and that the local housing commissions fulfill their tasks in accordance with law and order.

IV. [Roman four] Preparing for and holding the party elections will further strengthen the unity and cohesion of the ranks of our party. Great demands are put on the further consolidation of the militant strength of kreis party organizations and basic organizations, on their affinity with the masses, and their ability to implement the Central Committee decisions together with the working people in accordance with the specific situation.

The further development of the standard of life within the party and of the party-minded, open atmosphere, in which one comrade can rely on the other in firm trust, in which one comrade stands up for the other, and in which questions of attitude and work results are assessed critically and self-critically, is an inexhaustible source for an increase in militant strength.

It is particularly necessary to bring about the full effect of democracy within the party in order to include the members and candidate members even more purposefully in collective discussion of all party questions and in practical implementation of decisions, to effectively activate one's own powers, and to develop honorary work more broadly.

In the accountability reports the leading party organs in the kreis and basic organizations assess the way in which their own political leadership work, the entire party work, and the work among the masses live up to the increasing demands in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, which Comrade Erich Honecker outlined in his speech to the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships.

Taking this into account, the party collectives in the basic organizations should discuss how they can shape their monthly members' meeting in such a way that for every comrade it is the most important forum of topical information and arguments, discussion of decisions, formation of opinion, and organization of success, as well as of conveying experiences, delivering accountability reports, and control.

As a result of the constructive exchange of opinions, the account for party assignments, and the decisionmaking process of the members' meeting, every comrade has to know exactly which specific task is to be fulfilled in line with his responsibility.

The party elections are to achieve higher quality in the flexible, operational work of party groups and of individual work related to every comrade. The continuous trusting, close contact between the party leadership and the members and candidate members and the conducting of personal talks with comrades are to be aimed even more effectively at the task of everyone to entirely fulfill his duties and rights set down in the SED statute and to be at any time a model of socialist behavior in the work collective, in the residential area, and in his own family.

The accountability election meetings and delegates' conferences discuss and decide how the militant strength of the party collectives and their effect on the masses can be further increased by consistently applying the entire complex of Lenin's norms of party life, by strengthening the collective spirit and personal responsibility, through ideological steadfastness, conscious discipline, a high level of readiness for achievement, and through unified and concerted actions by the comrades.

Increasing demands are put on the class-consistent strengthening of the party and the purposeful distribution of party forces, which should lead to specific measures by the party organizations in order to ensure the tested way of careful, individual selection and admission of the most worthy workers, cooperative peasants, and members of the intelligentsia into the ranks of our Marxist-Leninist militant alliance. The party is not interested in quantitative growth but in qualitative growth.

It is the task of the kreis leaderships to discuss at their delegates' conferences how the most favorable conditions for implementating the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, for a high increase in performance in the national economy, and for the well-being of the citizens can be established by means of prudent, far-sighted, and operational management of the social processes in the region. In this connection, the kreis leaderships are intensifying their direct instructions

and support for basic organizations and their leaderships, which are elected by secret ballot in line with the party statute. They decide further measures to give specific aid to those collectives in particular in which leadership examples are being established and to collectives that have not yet reached the required standard. The leadership activities of the kreis leaderships should be focused especially on making necessary changes more quickly in order to have everyone reach the best standards within a short period of time.

In their decisions the accountability election meetings and the delegates' conferences outline in a specific and accountable way how the standard of differentiated ideopolitical work is being further raised with the aim of developing the political struggle among the masses in the party groups, departmental party organizations, and basic organizations, as well as in all work and teaching collectives with even more results, in order to strengthen socialism and safeguard peace. The measures and initiatives are to be directed toward the honorable implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, in particular toward the overall fulfillment of the 1988 national economic plan, including the pledges for its overfulfillment and the preparation of the 1989 plan. The party organizations include such tasks in their decisions, which give a strong impetus to the preparation of local elections and the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

Comrades who distinguish themselves by showing great political steadfastness through being firm in their principles, having militant attitudes, and by consistent and passionate work to implement the decisions of the 11th congress are to be proposed for election to leaderships. Among the qualities and abilities of the leadership members are an open, honest, modest, and sensitive attitude to the working people; advances in fulfilling new tasks; and energetic action in overcoming obstacles. In composing the leaderships it is necessary to achieve a healthy ratio of battle-tested comrades and young comrades and to increase the proportion of female comrades in the leadership bodies.

V. [Roman five] It is a decisive task for the bezirk leaderships to politically conduct the party elections in the bezirk party organizations in a purposeful way and to support the kreis leaderships and basic organizations at all times in preparing and holding their accountability election meetings and their delegates' conferences. They regularly evaluate the course and the results of party elections and make sure that the best results and leadership experiences, tested forms and methods of party work and work among the masses, exemplary achievements, and outstanding initiatives are made available to all basic organizations by means of exchanges of experiences and with the help of the party's publication bodies.

The party elections have to be held in accordance with the election regulations of the SED Central Committee.

The bezirk and kreis leaderships and the basic organizations guarantee topical and comprehensive information on preparation and holding of the party elections. The leaderships report in a detailed and differentiated way on the political atmosphere in the party collectives, the inclusion of members and candidate members in working out accountability reports and decisions, and on their activities in political work among the masses, in socialist competition, and in shaping life within the party.

The party information has to reflect the social effects of the party elections, the response of the collectives to the party's domestic and foreign policy and to the results of its implementation in their own sphere of responsibility, and in particular the new initiatives for the overall strengthening of the GDR.

Further focal points of the reports are the evaluation of successes achieved in applying tested experiences of political leadership work of the party organizations and of the effectiveness of ideopolitical work with the people. In particular, they have to report on the struggle for the overall fulfillment of the national economic plan and the accepted pledges as well as on how the available forces and means are being concentrated on consistently solving problems and on overcoming unjustified differences in standards until the necessary results are achieved.

The leaderships provide an exact overview of the proposals and suggestions of the party members and the other working people, account for their evaluation and processing, and make statements on the changes that have been achieved.

Defense Minister Addresses Army College
AU0305114688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Apr-1 May p 6

[Text] East Berlin (ADN) — The achievements of the "Wilhelm Pieck" Military College over the past 2 decades in the basic and advanced training of political officers as well as in teaching and research were praised at a festive event in Berlin on Friday [22 April]. Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, was cordially welcomed by the participants. The ceremony was attended by figures including Colonel General Horst Bruenner, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, and Eleonore Staimer, daughter of the first GDR president. Also attending were work veterans, working people from Berlin enterprises, Soviet brothers-in-arms, representatives from GDR universities and colleges, and of local party and state organs.

The minister of national defense conveyed thanks to the college members for their successful work in educating and further training party and political cadres. The dedicated work of the graduates from this institution in the Army and Navy has tangibly enhanced the SED's leading role in all spheres of military life. He expressed

the conviction that the college will meet future demands regarding communist education and advanced sociological training in order to conscientiously ensure the required defense capability.

In a declaration of intent, the members of the institution for military education and the party college pledged to meet their responsibility at all times.

Mongolian Defense Minister Arrives for Talks

LD021342 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0944 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 2 May (ADN)—At the center of talks in Berlin today were the military-political situation and cooperation between the GDR and Mongolia, including their Armed Forces. To this end Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, received a military delegation led by his Mongolian counterpart, Colonel General Jamsrangiyn Yondon.

Earlier, the guests were welcomed at Berlin's Schoenefeld airport by a military ceremony. They will visit National People's Army units and training establishments in the GDR.

In close cooperation with their Soviet brothers-in-arms and members of the other socialist armies, they have succeeded in nurturing a secure peace and strong socialism at the center of Europe, said Army Gen Heinz Kessler. During the meeting both sides demonstrated their conviction that a further impetus for fraternal relations between the two armies will emanate from this visit.

Leaders Public Appearances 21-27 Apr

AU301947 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 22 to 28 April reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

The following members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo attended a ceremony at which the members of the GDR Olympic team were presented high awards in Berlin on 25 April: Erich Honecker, who presented the awards; Willi Stoph; Horst Sindermann; Horst Dohlus; Werner Felfe; Kurt Hager; Joachim Herrmann; Werner Jarowinsky; Egon Krenz; Werner Krolikowski; Harry Tisch; and Inge Lange. (26 April, page 1)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended a ceremony at which meritorious GDR citizens were presented high awards, on the occasion of the forthcoming May Day, in Berlin on 27 April: Willi Stoph, who presented the awards; Hermann Axen; Horst Dohlus; Werner Krolikowski; and Inge Lange. (28 April, page 1) Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Major General Emilio Mondo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Uganda, for a farewell visit in Berlin on 26 April. (27 April, page 2)

Willi Stoph received Rita Suessmuth, FRG minister of youth, family, women, and health, in Berlin on 27 April. (28 April, page 1)

Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, conveyed cordial greetings and congratulations from the SED to Central Committee Member Paul Strauss, on his 65th birthday, in Berlin on 27 April. (28 April, page 2)

Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Witold Stasinski, deputy director of the Agriculture and Food Department of the PZPR Central Committee, in Berlin on 21 April. (22 April, page 2)

Werner Felfe visited a peasants' market on the occasion of the Sixth Congress of the Union of Small Gardeners, Settlers, and Small Livestock Breeders in Dresden on 21 April. (22 April, page 3)

Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, awarded the Karl Marx Order to Hajo Herbell, deputy chief editor of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, on the occasion of his 65th birthday, in Berlin on 21 April. (22 April, page 2)

Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received an LCY delegation headed by Uglejesa Uzelac, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in Berlin on 21 April. (22 April, page 2)

Guenther Kleiber received the representatives of the CEMA countries and the People's Republic of Angola to the joint commission for cooperation between CEMA and Angola, in Berlin on 22 April. (23-24 April, page 2)

Guenther Kleiber received Valentin Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, in Berlin on 22 April. (23-24 April, page 2)

Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the PPR Committee for Youth Affairs and Physical Culture, in Berlin on 21 April. (22 April, page 2)

Egon Krenz received Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR Socialist Youth Association, in Berlin on 22 April. (23-24 April, page 2)

Werner Krolikowski, member of the SED Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a reception given by Afghan Ambassador Abdul Wahed Baba Jan on the occasion of his country's national day, in Berlin on 27 April. (28 April, page 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received a delegation from the parliamentary group of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, led by its chairman, Pertti Hietala, in Berlin on 26 April. (27 April, page 2)

Guenther Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, welcomed an Italian Communist Party (PCI) delegation of the Rome Federation, headed by Goffredo Bettini, member of the PCI Central Committee, in Berlin on 23 April. (25 April, page 8)

Guenther Schabowski visited the Berlin Furniture Combine on 25 April. (26 April, page 8)

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, received Henriques da Silva, minister of planning of the People's Republic of Angola, in Berlin on 21 April. (22 April, page 3)

Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, attended a cocktail party given by Argentine Ambassador Alfredo C. Pons Benitez, on the occasion of the official visit of Argentina's Vice President Victor Martinez to the GDR, in Berlin on 21 April. (22 April, page 2)

Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council, visited the Metallurgy Combine East, in Eisenhuettenstadt on 21 April. (22 April, page 3)

Harry Tisch chaired the fifth session of the FDGB National Executive Council, in Berlin on 25 April. (26 April, pages 1, 2)

Briefs

Leipzig, Munich Universities Cooperate

Leipzig (ADN)—An agreement on cooperation between the Leipzig Karl Marx University and the Munich Ludwig Maximilian University was signed by the heads of these two institutions, Rector Horst Hennig and President Wulf Steinmann, in Leipzig on 28 April. The document provides for cooperation in, among other things, physics, livestock production, veterinary medicine, and biosciences. [Summary] [*AU0205163088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Apr 88 p 5*]

Trade Minister Visits France

Paris (ADN)—On Friday 22 April Gerhard Briksa, GDR minister of trade and supply, concluded a 5-day visit to France, which he had made at the invitation of Georges Chavanes, French minister of trade and crafts [title as published]. The two ministers held negotiations on possibilities for further expanding economic relations between the GDR and France, particularly with regard to including small and medium-sized industries and crafts in this cooperation. [Summary] [*AU251848 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Apr 88 p 2*]

Berecz Sees Everything Changing 'After Kadar'

WA0451712 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
13 April 88 p 15

[Interview with Janos Berecz, HSZMP Politburo member and CC secretary, by Andrea Tarquini "Almost Everything Will Change in Hungary"]

[Text] Budapest—In this interview, the number two man in the Hungarian regime discusses the future of his country and the many actions needed to overcome the deep economic and political crisis of Hungarian society.

"The economy works, but we have to get rid of dead branches, and old, unproductive sectors. The institutional political system works, but in some sectors it should be changed radically. Ours is an old ideology which needs renovation. Profit is neither immoral nor illegal; low unemployment hinders modernization."

After Kadar, Hungary will still be governed by the communists, but it will be very different from what it is today: it will have a government less controlled by the Party, an active parliament open to independent voices, and an economic policy guided by efficiency and the profit motive. Will unemployment increase? It is an inevitable evil; socialistic humanism with its myth of total employment is more damaging. Gorbachev? We root for him, but there should always be alternatives in politics; it is dangerous to assume that only one man has solutions and knows the way. This is the prognosis of Janos Berecz, one of the most powerful men of the Hungarian regime.

Berecz sits in the Politburo and in the Secretariat where he is responsible for the Ideology and Propaganda section; he carries well his 57 years, has the looks and eloquence of the political pragmatist, almost a kind of red Andreotti. He has the same job as Igor Ligachev in the Kremlin, and to many, Berecz is the Hungarian Ligachev, practically the number two of the regime. But with the difference that Ligachev does not deal with a weary 76 year old leader. In the competition for leadership that sooner or later will begin, Berecz has many cards he can play: he has strong support in the party apparatus, and excellent contacts in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the empire. Kadar trusts him blindly; according to gossip he once said: "I would rather have a drunken Berecz than a sober Pozsgay." Recently married (for the second time) to a young attractive actress (he had been a widower for a couple of years) Berecz has a son working in Budapest, and a daughter, Marianne, a member of the delegation which at the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna argues with the Romanians about Transylvania. His opponents fear him; the party apparatus loves his openness and how he expresses criticism even of Gorbachev. Here is our conversation with him, taped at the 'White House' as the ironic Hungarians dub the white monumental building on the Danube which hosts the Central Committee.

[Tarquini] Many in the government and in the opposition speak of a crisis in Hungary; in his recent televised appearance Kadar, on the other hand, has denied the existence of a crisis, almost hinting to a crisis created by the media. What is the situation?

[Berecz] I would say that it's not worth opening a semantics debate; in today's Hungarian society there are crises everywhere, but we also have institutions which—if renovated by substantial changes—can show us the way out. The economy functions, but we need to get rid of dead branches, of old unproductive sectors; the political system works, but it needs radical changes in certain sectors; our ideology works, but at times it works counter to our desires because it is an old ideology which has to be renovated.

[Tarquini] Are you talking about an institutional reform? What will be some of its characteristics?

[Berecz] Let's begin at the fundamentals, with property, and then follow its development in the institutions. Previously we thought that state property was intrinsically good and that private property was dangerous, now we have to ask ourselves how efficient is one or the other form of property and how do they correspond to the interests of society. We want, in other words, maintain the predominance of public property, but what counts is the efficiency of every form of property. Here is where the first ideological question arises: until now we had recognized the fairness in differences in income but not the legality of profit. Now we will have to state that profit is neither immoral nor illegal.

[Tarquini] Unemployment also will cease to be taboo?

[Berecz] One moment, let's continue talking about profit and capital: if capital is in the social interest it has to be permitted. This new concept can create jobs. Unemployment, a temporary unemployment, can be brought about by restructuring the institutions. There are two branches to restructure, to cut: the iron and mining industries. These are two sectors that also have revolutionary traditions in the history of the Hungarian workers' movement. Now we have to redimension these sectors. In general, in principle, we cannot accept unemployment, but this 'structural unemployment' which will result from this restructuring will be necessary and inevitable. If anything, we should reprimand ourselves that unemployment is still so low, that the unemployed number only 20,000 rather than the 150-200,000 forecast, because this means that restructuring is proceeding very slowly, marking time. Unfortunately, socialist humanism is still too strong and slows down modernization.

[Tarquini] But won't the crisis create protests like those in Poland which gave life to Solidarnosc?

[Berecz] This will depend on many factors. We hope that movements would arise within our society. We recognize that Hungarian society is multiform, subdivided according to varied interests. We therefore have to allow and support the birth of new forms of representation for these diverse interests. We hope that the traditional labor unions would change and renovate themselves so as to be able to represent and coordinate the interests of social groups.

[Tarquini] Are you considering a new law on striking?

[Berecz] Precisely, there will also be a need to define and regulate the right to strike. It is a right that in theory I favor, but in practice I don't condone, because production of goods is the basis of social development and striking is a threat to it. Problems must be dealt with through a reconciliation of economic interests, without resorting to strikes.

[Tarquini] And if a strike occurs?

[Berecz] A strike can only be a last resort solution. But even in such a situation we must deal in such a way that production continue or restart; anyway, here we are not only dealing with laws on strikes, we need to review laws on local elections, introduce a system of referenda, and review the mechanisms of parliament. In short, we have to face a period of great changes.

[Tarquini] Do you think that opposition groups could get into Parliament and help you control discontent? Would those groups contribute to the development of the system or will they be a threat to it?

[Berecz] I don't know how the new election law, still being debated, will be; but I think it will be difficult for them to get into Parliament as a group. But on an individual level everyone has a right to be a candidate, except those with a criminal record. Regarding these spontaneous movements, this second form of public activity, here we have a unique situation. Their existence is not outside of the law, but their activities at times conflicts with the provisions of the law. If one of these groups would ask to be registered, and pledge itself to respect the legal limits of political action, it is not excluded that it could get authorization. We limit their activity through administrative means, but we don't eliminate it, because their usefulness is not excluded.

[Tarquini] Why do you choose to "limit but not eliminate"?

[Berecz] We limit them when they act counter to the law, we don't eliminate their activity because they express real social problems. Their activity is basically positive, but any political activity represents potential danger, even mine, if I started behaving as a stupid irresponsible individual.

[Tarquini] Let's talk about the party conference. Do you think there is a possibility of changes of people at the top and are these advisable?

[Berecz] I think that changes of people is inevitable.

[Tarquini] Are you referring to the maximum level, to Kadar?

[Berecz] We have to discuss all these things first among ourselves, the leaders of the party. Then we shall see what team can accomplish the new program. In a party of 800,000 members there are many, many teams. We have to define a new line of action and an appropriate group of leaders for this new approach to resolve the serious problems of our country. After ample discussions we shall see who can and who cannot accomplish these new tasks. Changes in personnel are inevitable because we are getting ready to change politics. There is also a need to interpret in a different way the role of party leaders, to respect the autonomy of the government, of Parliament, and of the social organizations; and this requires a new way of thinking.

[Tarquini] Are you saying that the Kadar era is about to end?

[Berecz] I find myself in a difficult situation because I'm a believer and a follower of Kadar, and I'm sure that we will follow his way, in a Kadarism without Kadar. I'm convinced that we should continue the Kadar era, but differently. Because I am convinced that our actions in the last ten years were insufficient as far as coherence, as far as transparency (nyiltsag = glasnost, editor's note) and as far as reform: we have not been consistent either in reform or in ideological renovation. Our main error in these last 10 years has been to always have looked at factors of hope, neglecting the negative factors. The negative factors, the factors that create social tensions, require radical changes.

[Tarquini] Let's now talk of the post-Kadar era. When will it begin? In a month? In a year?

[Berecz] I will not talk about this subject with the press nor with anyone else, even off the record, until after I make statements to the ruling organs of the party, as is my duty. This is the Kadarian school of responsibility; he often comes to visit us, many times we spoke face to face at this table, and he is a man to whom by now one could say anything to his face.

[Tarquini] Therefore the time that he will ask to go into retirement is imminent?

[Berecz] If you're asking me what my position is, I think we will have to proceed with him to the next congress.

[Tarquini] How do you picture this Hungary of the future, without Kadar at the helm? What kind of Hungary will be the Hungary of the future?

[Berecz] We will have a party more up to date, more open, that will not make declarations ex cathedra but will engage in a dialogue with the country and society, that will try to win over those that question it; it will be an open party even in its internal affairs, toward its members, and in matters concerning national questions it will have to act in the open. We should not have secrets anymore, we should not have one leader but various leaders, each having a role recognized by the people. This Hungary of the future should have a government with more character and more autonomy, that will examine reality and then answer not only to the party but also to Parliament, to labor, and to the social establishments. A mirror of the country. It will have a parliament in which at least a few communist leaders will have to gain their seat by competing with other candidates; a parliament with full power to legislate and supervise the enactment of its laws. Even the social organizations will have a control on the government, people will be free to organize themselves. I would like to complete this picture by making a difficult wish: competition between political leaders should be one of programs, not a fight based on personal low blows.

[Tarquini] You were referring to teams. Who will be the ideal new team leader for the party?

[Berecz] This will be decided by the Central Committee. I am thinking of a captain that not only would tolerate but would favor the presence of other personalities on the scene. What is now most important and urgent is to forge ahead, to act. If a nation, because of its past, arrives at a dead end street, then what counts is getting ready for the future. To analyze the present is much harder than the past, the most difficult thing is to answer the question: what to do now. Allow me to make a comparison. In the West, when the oppositions become the governing powers they become unrecognizable. From a situation of full freedom of criticism, they pass into the uncomfortable duty of governing the country.

[Tarquini] Regarding the future, a big unknown is the strength and the future of Gorbachev. What are your thoughts on this matter?

[Berecz] We wish full success to Gorbachev and the Soviet communist party, with whom we fully agree on the reform of socialism; but in politics we have learned that there are alternatives, and it is very dangerous when one man and only one man says 'I see, I know ways and solutions.' Anyway, we are only fans of Gorbachev, we don't want to meddle in their affairs just as we don't want them to meddle in ours. Our reform does not depend on their reform, in spite of all the interconnections and relationships; the dominant factor for us will be our internal situation and our ability to analyze it and confront it.

Time is up, Berecz takes leave after two and a half hours of conversation. Only on one subject he didn't want to talk: the possible rehabilitation of Imre Nagy and the still secret location of his grave.

Waiting for the old man to leave [subhead]

Four second-rank candidates aspire to a succession process and no one knows when it will begin.

In a party afflicted by lack of self-esteem (at least forty thousand members have not renewed their membership card) Berecz is not the only one running for succession.

In addition to Imre Pozsgay whom we already mentioned (he is too nonconformist to become number one) the strongest competitors are: Prime Minister Karoly Grosz, 57 years old. He has led the government for less than a year, has gained an excellent reputation for managing the economic crisis, and is greatly esteemed by his Hungarian opponents and Western bankers. But Grosz lacks support in the party, in spite of his political debut in the dramatic times of 1956 when, before the Soviet intervention, in the Budapest fallen to the rebels, he brought food to the Stalinist leaders in hiding.

Next there is Matias Szuros, in charge of international relations. He is a member of the Secretariat, ex-ambassador to Moscow where he has contacts everywhere. He is taciturn and aloof. Szuros is also the man with connections with the political forces of the West. Not to be overlooked for his strength in the party and in the government, is Istvan Horvath, 54 years old, minister of Interior, considered 'tolerable' by the opposition. Very close to Berecz with whom he studied Marxism-Leninism, apparently little motivated by ambitions of leadership, he has enacted the law on free passports modeled on the Polish one, and maintains law and order with a moderate hand.

Finally, one cannot exclude an interim succession, a brief interregnum entrusted to one of Kadar's trusted contemporaries: Merleth or Sarlos. But neither the regime nor the country thinks this is the best solution.

Grosz Interviewed on Restructuring, Tasks

AU0305120188 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Apr 88 p 3

[Interview with Premier Karoly Grosz by Dezso Pinter: "Premier Karoly Grosz Interviewed by MAGYAR HIRLAP—New National Consensus"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Pinter] Prior to the debate on the draft policy statement of the national party conference, you said in a speech that we need a new national consensus and that this cannot be as long-term and comprehensive as the one that emerged in 1957. In view of the debates of recent weeks, how is this new national unity progressing?

[Grosz] A great many tensions have built up over the last almost 1 and 1/2 decades and many of our questions still have not been answered well enough. Life, however, does not wait for us to clarify our answers, and daily issues also await solutions. After 1956, it became absolutely

clear that we could not continue the same way as we had in the past. It became absolutely clear that we would have to come up with something else, something new, and some of the guidelines of this process were quite clear cut at the time. Today, however, as I have already mentioned, because these issues are still not clear enough, debates will continue. It is possible to reach a comprehensive consensus on some issues now, while it is not possible on other issues. Thus, the debate will recreate itself, and a new consensus might emerge on a higher level and result in an alliance in which the positions become closer to each other. The economic content and foundation of such an alliance would also be different from those of the previous consensus. That consensus was based on a regular, albeit not a rapid, increase in the standard of living. Today, this alliance can be based on an extremely differentiated increase in the standard of living because this increase has to be in harmony primarily with the social performance, and within this, with individual performances too. It is hard to imagine that this will continue as proportionally as it has before. There will be—and this is in our interest—workers whose individual situation becomes much better than that of others. This applies to intellectuals too; and there will also be cooperative peasants whose living conditions are different from those of other cooperative peasants. In other words, circumstances are changing more rapidly, and, in a changing situation, the role played by the individuals will also change.

Opinions About the Government [subhead]

[Pinter] To continue on the subject of the debates, in your view, have various bodies taken extreme and unfounded positions during the debate on the draft policy statement?

[Grosz] No such positions emerged in the debates when I was present. An extremely balanced exchange of views was carried out at these party committee conferences, both at the basic party committee and the county party committee levels, an exchange of views that expressed the Hungarian realities, indicated the problems, and often evaluated the successes and achievements. However, the debates also dealt with issues which, in my view, represent a certain change in proportions. It was claimed that the draft policy statement, which emerged with elementary force both at the meeting of the basic party committees and at the meetings of the Diosgyor and Borsod county party committees, neither addresses nor adequately clarifies the class structure and class nature of society. Seen from another angle, this claim meant that the draft policy statement does not deal clearly enough with the working class, whereas, in my opinion, the entire draft policy statement represents the interests of the working class in the correct sense of the word, because a more rational, efficient, and better-functioning socialism is in the interest of the working class.

[Pinter] The summing up of different opinions is still under way, but it is perhaps not too early to ask what the most frequent observations made about the work of the government under your leadership were?

[Grosz] I cannot tell you what issues were discussed most frequently, but I have read some of the reports, and the subject of government activity emerged at the meetings which I attended personally. Those colleagues who accompanied me on such exchanges of views also gave their impressions. One frequent observation was a call for consistency on the part of the government; this demand was raised almost everywhere. I think there is some confusion here. They demand that we be more consistent but if we fulfilled this demand in the sense that we carried out everything that the present situation requires, things that we know need to be done because the time has come to do them, well, then, very quickly, we would create such a chaos that even our grandchildren would not be able to put things in order.

Therefore, I feel that we must debate this too, and we must synchronize our watches. In my view, today one can and must ask for consistency only in implementing compromises between necessary and possible actions when we reach and accept such compromises.

Rational Compromises [subhead]

[Pinter] Do these compromises include the economy too?

[Grosz] Of course they do. Just think about this: We subsidize rent for housing by 12 billion forints. It would be rational for the tenants of the 830,000 state-owned apartments to pay this amount at this very moment. Anyone who, up to now has paid, let us say, 2,500 forints a month for rent, would have to pay 12,000 forints. Can we imagine something like that? Take another example: There is a 16 billion forints worth of state subsidy in the form of interest subsidies for anyone who receives state loans for housing construction. Now, we would have to immediately raise the interest rate from the current 3 percent to 12 percent. Imagine that today? Could we stop giving 17 billion forints in subsidies for pharmaceuticals? We could not even think about it. When I think that at present we return about 50 percent of the profits made in the economy in the form of subsidies for production processes, then, I could say that this practice too should be discontinued immediately. Where would this lead? This would lead to an economic collapse. Our country does not need such consistency. What we do need is consistent and gradual implementation of carefully thought out and planned programs.

Another great circle of issues that emerged during the debates is the relations between the government and Parliament, the relations between the government and the party, and the division of labor between the government and public organizations. All these have become firmly established in the public opinion—in my opinion,

correctly. The debates put great stress on the government's role in production and in the economic processes, and relations between the government and social policy have been the subject of many analyses. The latter is particularly understandable in view of the considerable role the government must play in the future. Certain opinions were formed about production during the debates: The state should be present in every place which cannot solve its problems on its own, and the state should refrain from interfering in places where the local processes lead to results.

[Pinter] Such an idea is, obviously, unacceptable.

[Grosz] It definitely is unacceptalbe, although I can accept the fact that the situation cannot be changed overnight. If the government said today that we would stop dealing with the metallurgy and the mining industry, this would lead to considerable consequences, not only from the economic viewpoint but also from the social one. One can, of course, ask whether we would have the courage to do such a thing? Well, it is not a matter of courage. This bring to mind the old joke about one being courageous or blind. One does not need courage to hit his head against the wall but one needs courage to accept the conflicts deriving from the systematic handling of these processes.

The Functioning of Our System of Political Institutions [subhead]

[Pinter] In your statements, you often use the expression: modernization of the system of political institutions, but you always mention the fact that you prefer the expression: modernization of the functioning of the political institutions. What does this mean?

[Grosz] I envisage a lasting one-party system in Hungary, the MSZMP. Although a multiparty system can be established historically in the long run, I cannot imagine under the current circumstances several parties functioning in Hungary. Therefore, I exclude the possibility of a multiparty system from our system of political institutions. I consider it necessary to modernize the functioning of the party. Then, I picture a uniform trade union which is self-governing rather than independent, and not several trade unions. I also picture a uniform youth association in which various interests come to the fore and confront each other, including the interests of the strata of the society which still today make up the members of the youth organization. I picture the National Assembly with a legislative and supervising role, and I regard the supervision of the government and of the public processes as desirable and healthy; I do not consider parliamentary government a suitable solution for us. All these are clear-cut concepts for me.

[Pinter] The party conference will also decide on personnel questions. What organizational principle is expected to prevail?

[Grosz] We must face the fact that a period is behind us, a period with great merits but with accumulated tension and shortcomings as well. Today, we must primarily eliminate these tensions and not keep stressing the values of this period. Consequently, we need people who can cope with conflicts. They need confidence in what they are doing, the courage to accept the difficulties inherent in eliminating the conflicts, and the ability to struggle against factors that oppose these processes. The ability of the politicians to align the people and make their efforts accepted by the society has been gaining ground recently; today, the role played by the capacity of creating contacts is greater than ever. And last but not least, a politicians needs to be able to withdraw. He should not defend and represent a position out of prestige because, today, if a leader is not patient enough and is unable to accept others' thoughts, he will hardly be able to find correct answers in such a complex situation, and I might also add that he will hardly be able to represent his own truth and make it acceptable to others. Therefore, I feel that in this stage of our development, more emphasis should be placed on other demands of our leaders. This derives from the given situation, rather than from subjective intentions or desires. What is at issue is not creating a situation to fit the people but there is a given situation that formulates the system of requirements from a person, and this is the norm.

There is yet another factor that, I think, does not follow from the particularities of the given situation but derives from the general nature of biological laws. One tends to get tired in the everyday struggle, and it can also happen that one's capacity to carry burdens decreases. Today, however, we are living in period when we must carry burdens constantly and consistently.

After 4 Months [subhead]

[Pinter] Some 4 months have slowly passed this year. What do the economic processes show? To what extent are these processes in harmony with the plans? Will there be need for corrections?

[Grosz] It is impossible to draw conclusions after 4 months. Hardly a day has passed during these 4 months without our achievements and weaknesses being weighed and without drawing the consequences for the entire year, but I still do not dare to openly formulate these conclusions. The balance is positive if we take the first 3 months of the year as a whole. It has been a long time since we have had such positive results in the most sensitive points, concerning our trade balance and our payment balance. But I do not dare make the same prediction for the whole year. On the contrary, I think that many factors have contributed in the first months, factors that we cannot see yet. So, we must wait, we need patience. Patience does not mean that we must not work, nor that we should wait in evaluating our economic performance. However, we need the at least 6 months to be able to come up with a clear-cut evaluation of our performance.

A new tax system has been introduced and we cannot always draw the conclusions concerning the attitude of the enterprises. However, the government appeal, which was smiled upon and according to which the various enterprises should exercise restraint in order to maintain the planned level of inflation, had an extremely positive response. Who can tell today how long this attitude will prevail and whether because of some unpredicted event, enterprises might be forced to increase prices irrespective of their original intentions? At this moment, I cannot answer this question.

[Pinter] In Diosgyor, you mentioned that certain aspects of the tax reform need adjusting. In what areas, on what justification, and when is this expected to occur?

[Grosz] We clearly said that we would consider the first experiences of the tax reform after 6 months; and, after 1 year, on the basis of a more general analysis, we will review the lessons of this reform. If necessary, we will submit the changes to Parliament. We said this because we marked this year as a learning year. It is not only the citizen who is learning how to prepare a tax return and to reckon with the new tax system this year, but the current year is also a learning year for the government. Today, we already see that in certain areas the general turnover tax has disturbed the processes or has created disproportions; it is, obvious, therefore, that, on the basis of individual judgment, immediate measures have to be taken in certain areas. It is also obvious that the burden of children's clothing is much greater than we originally planned. Probably we will have to ease the turnover tax in a complex way, and we must reclassify certain products; it is possible that we will raise the child allowances; however, I would like to stress that lately, I have encountered tremendous opposition to this solution.

In many places, quite recently in Borsod county for example, people said that this way, the money would not go to where we intend it to go. However, the government cannot provide guarantees for this, and individual responsibility plays a role in the fate of this money.

[Pinter] There are many signs indicating the particular international attention being given to the changes and the preparations for these changes in Hungary. On the basis of your personal talks and the indications of other official sources, how do you think are our efforts are being understood and supported abroad?

[Grosz] I feel that generally the same thing is true at home and abroad; namely, that our efforts are understood and endorsed, and there is sympathy toward them. At the same time, people say that no tangible results can be seen as yet. Our institutions are expected to come up with more results and greater performance. Some of these expectations are not unfounded. Obviously, observing our domestic processes from abroad, it is easier to evaluate the situation than living with this situation day by day. Those who support us are encouraging us, and for these people, results rather than intentions will provide concrete proof. Since these people are not living through it, they cannot understand—to the same degree—the social requirements that accompany these changes. Many people do not understand the many other burdens that accompany such a restructuring process. Experts and bankers from the international financial world are coming to us and hold talks in various places, meet with various evaluations, and lose faith. They do not understand why various leaders evaluate the situation differently and why these leaders have different opinions about the direction of development. The reason for all this is very simple. Due to the fact that the situation is very complex, the situation analysis has not been clarified and primarily the methodology of finding a way out of the difficulties has not been developed. Thus, it is only natural that many people express their own opinions, and others declare their half-considered thoughts; all this makes their partners lose faith.

Support and Understanding [subhead]

[Pinter] As far as the support of and understanding for our efforts are concerned, how can we evaluate the international circumstances as a whole? Is there uniform support on the part of the socialist countries?

[Grosz] I experience much readiness for support in the socialist countries, they want to help and are partners to our initiatives. This is a uniform approach coming from all those I have met so far. I have not met with everyone, and I cannot judge the intention of people with whom I did not discuss these things. But I repeat that all those with whom I spoke clearly supported our efforts, our search for way out, and our readiness for renewal. They worry about our large hard currency debts and about our ability to overcome the burdens deriving from this large debt. I also generally experienced great sympathy and serious readiness for cooperation in my talks with Western partners. They are less worried about our debts; it seems that they are thinking more in terms of processes. A well-known West European politician put it this way: The big question is not how much you owe but how you work, how the economy develops, and how dynamically it can renew itself. If the economy shows an accelerating trend, they are confident that we will also be able to overcome our debt. According to my experiences, Western politicians do now worry much about us because they see that we pay back our debts as good debtors.

[Pinter] According to reports last week, Budapest might provide the location for a possible Soviet-U.S. summit this year. What has preceded this and are there development in this respect?

[Grosz] I know about this from Hungarian Television, from the statement made by the foreign spokesman; I have no other information since no one has come to the government with such a proposal. I am satisfied with the pleasant answer given by our spokesman. If you ask me,

I will say the same thing: If the two negotiating partners called upon the Hungarian Government to provide a location for such a meeting, we would consider such a request as a great honor and would do our utmost to create the most favorable conditions for such a meeting. But, once again, so far, no one has come to us with such a request. Preliminary exploratory talks are customary in diplomacy, but no such talks have been held so far in this case either.

Visit to Great Britain [subhead]

[Pinter] In the coming days, you will leave for an official visit to Great Britain. What are your expectations?

[Grosz] First of all, let me come with a personal confession: I am a great admirer of the British prime minister.I have never met her in person, but I have read her statements and the studies that analyze the consistent economic policy decisions she has made to modernize the British economy. But I know that personal and subjective feelings do not play a special role in politics. Therefore, I would also like to say that, this will be the first official visit by a Hungarian prime minister to Great Britain since World War II. Therefore, this is an extremely responsible mission. This is, in fact, the recognition of a period; not the recognition of a Hungarian premier, but the recognition and appreciation of a period by the British Government by inviting and receiving the Hungarian premier. As to my concrete intentions? I would like to present a closer picture of the Hungarian reality to the British Government, the federation of industrialists, the heads of the banking world, and, as much as possible, to the interested British public opinion.

Besides, I have no reason to complain since, lately the world press has been informing the public about the processes under way in Hungary—both the successes and the mistakes—very correctly and objectively. Anything the world press regards as weakness and expresses as criticism, we ourselves deal with as such. Therefore, I will not have to draw another picture of Hungarian reality, but I will use the opportunity to acquaint my partners more closely with our concepts and efforts. We will indicate that we want to work together and cooperate with them, and we consider this cooperation as important. An opinion has gained ground about us, and not a totally unfounded one, that we are seeking opportunities for economic cooperation mainly in the German area—with the FRG and Austria. This is true, but I would like to add that this does not in contradict our intention to establish very close cooperation also with other leading economic and political powers in West Europe. Undoubtedly, we have a European orientation deriving from our historical past and our objective situation. We would like to open the gates wider, which is also on the agenda of the upcoming talks.

[Pinter] My last question is of a personal nature. You have just visited a hotel in Heviz, and many people gathered there at the news that the premier is in the hotel. When you went outside, you received applause. My question, which I would probably forbid a journalism trainee to ask, is the following: What does the premier minister feel on such occasions? Because it was definitely not compulsory to applaud....

[Grosz] I do not know what others feel on such occasions, but I was very embarrassed and I looked around because I did not know to whom was the applause directed. Applauses and successes have been not spoiling me since I became premier. Therefore, I think my surprise was understandable. When people started to wave, I understood that this was intended for me and it felt good, because it expressed confidence and sympathy for the way in which the government is trying today to ease the problems and find a way out of the well-known difficulties. All this provides encouragement and strength in the real sense of the word. Perhaps this does not sound right becaus one does not talk about these things now, but this is part of man's world. It may seem strange but a premier also has a soul and feelings. He does not and cannot expect to shake hands with everybody and to be congratulated on successes achieved—the time for that is still far away—but an advanced expression of confidence is, nevertheless, a very good feeling.

Officials Discuss Party Conference, Issues

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["Forum" program with Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo; Janos Lukacs, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Mihaly Jasso, secretary of the Budapest party committee; Ilona Mar, first secretary of the Dunaujvaros party committee; Sando Postas, first secretary of the party committee of Hajdu-Bihar County; and an unidentified moderator; in Budapest; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Moderator] Good evening. We are not in an enviable position, partly because 1,048 questions have so far been received by telephone and mail, and the decisive majority of these questions deal with the most serious and significant problems of the country, and partly because we have only 70 minutes to attempt to answer them. The guests of this "Forum" are not in an enviable position either because the high-level party forum which really is qualified to provide official answers to the questions is 3 weeks away. We shall be introducing the guests as we go along, so let us begin with some warm-up questions.

Ilona Mar, first secretary of the Dunaujvaros party committee, what is the question that preoccupied you most before coming here?

[Mar] I have been first secretary of the town's party committee for 5 months, and for that entire time I have been preoccupied with the question of why, when we come to the end of argument, we encounter this reply: I am acting in accordance with the party's policy? [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Mihaly Jasso, secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, we know thanks to the media that the draft standpoint of the MSZMP conference was discussed by your committee at a session which had a very lively atmosphere, and in some instances there were some very hard-hitting and sharp statements. To what extent have these found their way into the document you have sent to the Central Committee?

[Jasso] Well, they can be found in the document partly in spirit, even if they are not worded so sharply. But we have passed on every statement in our authentic minutes.

[Moderator] Janos Lukacs, secretary of the Central Committee, I would like to ask you the question which frequently appeared on the screens in the past 2 days in the ad for this program. A worker of the Budapest Factory EPTEK [expansion unknown] asked: When the situation is grave abroad, a party conference is convened. When the situation is very grave in our country, is it a party conference which we should be convening?

[Lukacs] Yes, party conferences have been held or are to be held in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the USSR in this half of the year. As to how the reasons can be described, I would perhaps say that it is not possible to talk about the equal gravity of the situation.

I think these countries are seeking a new phase in their development; questions of great importance are on the agenda. And this may be the reason why the Central Committees of the Communist Parties there decided to hold a party conference. I would like to mention that the December decision of our Central Committee to convene the party conference also deviates from longstanding traditions. We in Hungary have not had a party conference in 31 years. Perhaps some people are aware that the MSZMP last held a national party conference in 1957. All I can say now is that if our Central Committee has decided to convene a party conference, then there is a reason for it.

[Moderator] I think the question was really asking why a party conference has been convened instead of a congress.

[Lukacs] Yes, well, the Central Committee did not weigh the question in this manner—whether it should be an extraordinary congress of a party conference. I think we have exercised the option—for serious questions are also on the agenda in our country—an option stated in our statutes that the Central Committee can convene a party conference between two congresses. So the national conference was convened on the basis of this regulation and the formula in the party's basic law and for appropriate reasons.

[Moderator] Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. His warmup question is also the kickoff for this match. Imre Toth on 355-129 and Sandor Toth on 113-928 ask: Many people are saying and claiming to prove that signs of economic and social crisis can be detected in the country. Others deny this, or at least dispute it. Is it the task of the national conference to decide whether there is a crisis or not?

[Berecz] I myself am one of those who dispute this. I think the national party conference will not vote on whether there is a crisis or not. Its task will be to analyze the situation, evaluate the phenomena and processes which exist in our country today, and building on these—and this is what I consider most important—to vote in favor of tasks which represent the way out and which, as the draft submitted for debate also states, bring about a necessary turning point. This is one reason for the party conference, so that we can achieve the necessary turning point.

[Moderator] Thank you. We have received a warmup question on how we select the questions we pass on. [passage omitted] If we began with him, let us stay with Janos Berecz.

Mihaly Lukacs, whose telephone number is 166-811 asks: What guarantee is there that these resolutions to be made now will be more responsible, professional, and better founded than the resolutions of the 13th Congress?

[Berecz] It would be difficult to mention one guarantee because I think that there is more than one guarantee. First of all, the situation fills all of us with a certain anxiety. We are compelled to face reality, facts, instead of dwelling on our wishes and desires. Second, there is that guarantee that we have involved scientific experts in a wider circle, and we intend to rely on their views and analyses. Another guarantee is that now the entire party membership has participated in formation of the policy. It is difficult to speak without certain inner feelings about the fact that more than half of the party membership expressed an opinion, a voice; they argued, we have received an enormous amount of letters, individual contributions, which said: I said this at the membership session but I also want it to reach the Central Committee.

I think that this policy which relies on and which is based on the experiences of the party membership and on wide-ranging scientific analysis will be more realistic than those before it.

[Moderator] Please....

[Lukacs] I would only like to increase the number of guarantees. In my view, for me—as somebody who is

also under the influence of these debates—perhaps the fact that there is, not only in the party but also in a much wider circle, a determination to pull this country out of this situation, and to find those factors which can ensure a more harmonic development, can also be a guarantee, perhaps.

[Moderator] Pal Laszlo, from Palanta Street in Budapest's second district, asked in a letter: What is the legal position of this national party conference? Obviously what he wants to know is where this conference is placed within the party, in its mechanism, in its decisionmaking process?

[Lukacs] Yes, this is not the first time in the past weeks that I have been asked this question. Right now many people are leafing through the statute. I think the statute says that in essence if the Central Committee convenes a party conference between two congresses, then this party conference has very wide license. Thus, it can qualify and assess a situation, it can lay down tasks, and in accordance with the tasks, it can also decide on personnel issues. However, let me mention here another very serious precondition for the task of the party conference. In my view the mandate of the party conference really is given not so much by the statute but by the entire party membership.

[Moderator] What can you contribute to this, Mihaly Jasso?

[Jasso] Yes, we have also been receiving many questions about this, and as the debate has progressed these questions also multiplied because the expectation regarding the party conference is growing, isn't it? I can agree with Comrade Lukacs that it is the quality of the decision which will determine basically whether the party conference is justified or not.

[Moderator] To be entirely specific—and after this Janos Berecz will have leave to speak—Jozsef Jakab from Tatabanaya asks whether the party conference can, for example, modify those resolutions of the last congress which have proven unrealistic?

[Berecz] In my view the party conference has a right to do everything which it undertakes responsibly. In other words, it could also modify. However, I think that the main line of the 13th Party Congress does not need to be changed because in it there are objectives which all of us support enthusiastically. However, the conference must change under any circumstances unrealistic, specific data, but not by annulling in a resolution; no, on the contrary, by defining what we can do, achieve, in the present situation. In this way it will have put these points of the congress, really, behind it.

[Moderator] So, if I understand it correctly, the party conference will issue the license for itself during those 3 days, 20, 21, and 22 May.

[Berecz] Yes, it does it itself and with the license it is receiving now from the party membership in the debate.

[Moderator] The next question is for our guests from the Dunaujvaros, Hajdu Bihar County, and Budapest party committees. Jozsef Szabodos at telephone number 222-883 asks whether you agree that the political work of the past decades has been characterized by a kind of self-satisfaction, the uncritical overassessment of achievements? Is it the case with you, or has it been the case with you? What is the cause of this and to what, in your opinion, did this do the greatest damage?

[Mar] Perhaps I could start. I would say in this connection that in Dunaujvaros we had to sense earlier that there was a need for change. What is described worldwide under the term "the crisis of metallurgy" reached Dunaujvaros in the eighties; therefore, we had to face years in advance the question of where Dunaujvaros was going, for we are very closely linked with the Danube Iron Works; of where the Danube Iron Works was going, and what objectives we would establish. Precisely because of this, this process began earlier in our place; therefore, I was not able to experience this self-satisfaction. However, we in Dunaujvaros were also unable to experience this because [words indistinct] our building industry enterprise was among the first to be financially reorganized, again at the beginning of the 1980's. In other words, in the eighties there was no possibility here for that kind of excessive self-satisfaction.

[Moderator] Has the economic situation insured that you could not have felt things were going very well? Sandor Postas.

[Postas] The structure of agriculture in Hajdu-Bihar Country is fortunate because in the course of industrial development branches have been established which the change in the world economic situation and life did not force into a crisis position. In other words, we have a prospering economy, one which produces an output to the tune of 100 billion [currency not specified] and which has a profit of 10 billion. Therefore, the strenuous problems on which interest is focused were not felt directly through the county. Our concern was: Had we assessed too highly certain elements in the past period? Yes, we had. There were periods during which we deemed short-term results something which would also continue in the longer term, and this meant a kind of complacency. I would mention particularly regarding our area, agriculture, or the foodstuffs economy where there is a need for a more self-critical stance. I consider as part of the topic that bit which refers to the fact that resolutions of ours in the past did uncover properly those problems which we had to face. I would like to mention here the transformation of the economic structure, our international economic relations in 1977. They also

defined the tasks in a way valid for today. It is another question as to why we either did not have the strength, why the conditions were not together for the implementation, of these resolutions which, by the way, exposed the objective situation properly and which presented the objectives harmonically and consistently.

[Moderator] Mihaly Jasso and then Janos Lukacs.

[Jasso] I have not been a member of the Budapest party leadership for long, but I have been a member for a longer time of the Budapest party movement. Even in the past I did not sense self-satisfaction on the part of the leadership and I can profess now that neither are we feeling such a sentiment currently. We are saved from this perhaps by the fact that the economy and spiritual life of Budapest is such—Budapest is a town which brings to the surface in a compressed form the problems, the worries, and the successes and even the passions—that even differences between demands and possibilities cannot make the present leadership complacent nor can they make it self-satisfied.

[Moderator] Janos Lukacs.

[Lukacs] In my opinion the central question is precisely that raised by the person asking the question. However, I would rather put it this way: Did we evaluate the situation correctly? My opinion—and this is not only my view but one that is shared by many others—is that the evaluation of the situation was not precise; after all, it was on that evaluation of the situation that we based the goals or targets which in the present period we cannot follow, and we cannot implement in this period the tasks which derive from those goals.

Why a party conference? Among other things, this is one of the reasons.

[Moderator] The next question is addressed to Janos Berecz. In a way it makes concrete what has just been said. Viktor Somogyi asks from Szentendre: Since the economic situation has not improved, our debt has further increased, the burdens on the population are increasing, the standard of living is dropping, tensions are building up in society, and the public mood is worsening, and all this can even be read in the draft standpoint, how can the same draft standpoint state, to quote: The socialist social system has stable foundations in Hungary?

[Berecz] Well, this is a return to the first question which I was given as a warmup. Thus, I will endeavor to answer it briefly, expressing my own opinion. I share both views expressed in the draft standpoint. One gives a cross section, or the chief characteristics, of the present situation, while the other sums up the 40 years that are behind us, without saying that it is talking about those 40 years. Those who are saying that there is a total or general crisis in our country are forgetting one thing. This word does not make me particularly nervous. The essence is not the word but the reality and the way leading out of it. But those who are talking about total crisis fail to thoroughly consider that our economy is capable of functioning. It has many problems and crisis branches, but it is nonetheless still capable of functioning. The state is also capable of functioning. Our party proved by its debates in January and March, and with its April debate, that it is active, capable of action, and willing to act. Our entire system of institutions requires reform, but it still exists, is with us, and is functioning. Thus, we have many things to get hold of and a basis which we must utilize well in order to overcome these considerable and complex difficulties.

[Moderator] We have come to an interesting group of questions, if only because these are the expressions which have been voiced most frequently in the past few months. One of these questions, from Gabor Kiraly, telephone number 732-208, asks: It is said sometimes that in the future the leading role of the party will have to be understood differently. What does this mean in practice? Laszlo Csanyi asks: If we acknowledge that competition advances matters in every sphere of life, then how will the one-party system, without competition, advance matters in our country? Janos Lukacs.

[Lukacs] I would like to start with my view on the latter of these two questions. In my opinion, and also according to the views put forward in the document, the expression of interests, the manifestation of interests, does not necessarily require more than one party. What we are now suggesting in the draft standpoint of the Central Committee is precisely that it is necessary to express the pluralism of interests more clearly within the framework of the present system of institutions, with a different distribution of tasks and responsibilities, with a different relationship between the party and the state, and a different relationship between the party and the social organizations.

[Moderator] Janos Berecz would like to add something.

[Berecz] It is easy to formulate the answer to the first question, though it will be a very complex and complicated task to achieve it in practice. What we are saying is that the party should not in the future intervene directly in any sphere of social life, it should not intervene directly. Existing, developing, or coming into being now everywhere are institutions whose task it is to deal with interests, coordinate, engage in political endeavors: and the party is to take these, in their entirety, into consideration. But up to now direct intervention was practiced quite frequently. We are now saying that the party should give direction through ideology, politics, and movements. It is very easy to say this, but for an entire party to change over to this practice, where it is necessary to argue more, where we must explain our opinions all the time, where we must listen to others—many others, everyone in the area—this will be a very great task.

[Moderator] Let us add that, as also emerged from the questions, these debates will have to be publicized as well.

[Berecz] Yes, they must be given publicity. And one other thing: The party's work will have to center on the basic branches. Let us admit, up to now it was the Central Committee, the Politburo, the County Party Committee; and now all these will have to work to ensure that all the basic organizations can implement the party's policy and fulfill the leading role in their own area.

[Moderator] The next questions are really asking about the details of this, how the party must change its relations with all the other political and economic bodies. I think we all agree that this whole question would not have emerged so sharply had everything gone well up to now, had the party represented its own interests in the economy and in relation to other political bodies as it should have. Istvan Illyes asks from Pecs: The tasks of an expressly state character should be carried out by the state organs, while the social organizations should facilitate and check on the work of the state through their movement. This was a quote, from the 3 November 1971 resolution of the MSZMP Central Committee. Why is it that the same task has to be stressed once again, after 17 years?

[Berecz] I would like to answer in one sentence. This is essentially because the system of institutions that functioned here in the seventies, which we had inherited from earlier on, did not make it possible for this very important principle to be implemented in practice.

[Moderator] Has anyone anything to add to this? Sandor Postas.

[Postas] I would like to respond to the other side of the question. On the one hand, what is involved is that the party must enable itself to play its political role in this manner, that it should be not an administrative but a movement organization. But there is another side as well, namely that all those organs and institutions that form parts of the system of political institutions must also become capable of organizing their own self-direction, their own activities, so they can act independently.

[Moderator] Now many viewers ask, and I have to ask on their behalf, how?

[Mar] May I give an example? It is in the town that the practice is closest to this. It is my experience that insitutions have a lot of potential, even within the framework of the present system, and we have not made full use of it. We are now trying to do so. One of the most important topics in our towns concerns the sale of state apartments. A central decree was issued and members of the public came to say that they would like to buy these apartments. It emerged that had all the requests been met, practically all the apartments with more than one room would have been sold. The question then arose: What would happen in the future, what could we give to young people? Well, this is a matter for the council, is it not?

We did the following: First of all, we took the matter to the public, with the help of the local television and the local Dunaujvaros newspaper.

The interests became known. It is true that only those wanting to buy apartments attended the public forum, but at other forums young people also formulated their own requirements. We worked out a standpoint, summarizing the different interests. This was taken to the council. We did not convene the communist group—or rather, we just asked their views and standpoint. We also expressed our view at the council session, as one of several views. Eventually, the town council adopted a restriction which provided for housing management in the future as well. However, very interestingly, even though the matter was dealt with in a council decree, a minority of the population does not wish to accept this view. Thus, even within the present framework, there are many opportunities of which we could make bolder use.

[Moderator] Would Janos Lukacs like to add anything to this?

[Lukacs] After the party conference, I think it will be one of our very important tasks to deal with all those methods which will be able to put this new approach into practice, to realize it. I think that we are dealing with a very important question and a very big change. We are already engaged in this process.

I would also like to continue with an example. Earlier, I think, the situation was simple: Even though the economic plans were not drawn up by the party organizations—the party committees, the factory party committees—they nonetheless looked at the plans, gave a political opinion of them. We know that by now the overwhelming majority of enterprises are directed by enterprise councils. It is these councils which approve the plan and many other things. The trade union also has its rightful place, of course. If the party organizations, representing the political sphere, want to effect a policy in the local areas, then they must get their way, the party's will, indirectly, through the council members, the trade union functionaries, and not through personal instructions.

I would like to add something. Nowadays we say very often that the MSZMP should be a party which does not administer, but engages in politics. I would like to mention—in order to avoid misunderstandings, or because of the misunderstandings—that I think that at the same time we must be careful. We do not want to be just a debating club, just arguing about things. After all, we must always arrive at conclusions. I like to use the

expression that we must be a party engaged in politics, which is thereby a party engaged in action, capable of influencing the various processes.

[Moderator] Now, something has emerged here in connection with the earlier concrete example. If a trade union functionary who is a party member, who thus ought to implement the principled position of the party, comes into conflict with the enterprise's interest—after all, as a party member he has to represent larger interests, and the enterprise's interests are not always the same—then which of his roles should he give precedence to?

[Lukacs] Well, this is when it is necessary to coordinate the interests; and I think that the task pointing toward the future is to realize interests in a way whereby the public interest benefits. The wider interest must be given precedence. Now, it is obvious that this also involves clashes; and this is where the indirect method comes in. Look, it is no longer done through a party directive. Let the party engage in politics, reach a decision, and ask that this decision be implemented through its members.

[Moderator] A question from a computer engineer—who did not wish to give his name—is very appropriate here. The question is as follows: Is there at last a concrete and detailed program of economic development being drawn up under the direction of the party with the active participation of its corps of experts, which at last goes beyond the formulation of generalized wishes and states precisely what needs to be done and why, in the next 2 years at most, in order to get out of the present crisis situation? The second, related, question is as follows: Does the party feel it has sufficient sociopolitical support behind it to be able to realize the program for transforming the economic structure, which by now has been pending for more than a decade?

[Berecz] First I would like to return to the previous question for just one sentence. In my opinion, at the present time the party member trade union functionaries, in the overwhelming majority of cases, decide in favor of the enterprise's interest. This is so in the overwhelming majority of cases. They are finding it very difficult to face up to the problem of enterprise interests possibly conflicting with the public interest, because they are also interested in the results.

Regarding these two questions, I would like to start by saying that there is a misunderstanding here. Neither the Central Committee nor the Politburo must or should work out such a concrete and interventionist economic program. This is now entirely a governmental task, whereas the party and the party organizations must keep an eye on it and help in determining the main outlines rather than the details. At the same time, the government must also coordinate its plans with trade unions, because the trade unions represent certain interests.

Now, regarding the trade unions and this whole business and its processes—obviously, we will learn them together.

[Moderator] This does not mean, of course, that the party has no definite and declared view on the most specific questions and problems which interest the widest strata of the public. I am raising this point because the next question deals with that type of issue. It is addressed to Ilona Mar and asks: How do you see the joint-stock socialism which is now developing, from the political point of view? There is also a supplementary question tailored especially for you: Can you envisage that the Duna Steel Works, following the example of Medicor, might become a joint-stock company?

[Mar] Well, I find it very difficult to envisage. The way I understand the development plans of the steel works and the plans for metallurgy, there is a quite different road to be followed there. It seems at the present time that the Duna Steel Works has overcome the problems of 1985. On the basis of the plans, it seems to me that the steel works will increase its production to some extent. There are tremendous internal reserves; and consequently, I find it very important that at the initiative of the enterprise party committee they have worked out a so-called perestroyka plan, a strategic plan. This strategic plan contains many new features, including subsidiaries, in an effort to create a sense of ownership in the smaller units as well. But for my part, I do not believe that it is the joint-stock company model which could help in the coming period.

[Moderator] Before going any further, I would like to ask your opinion on joint-stock socialism, irrespective of the Danube Iron Works.

[Mar] What comes to mind is that bureaucracy is perhaps strongest in joint-stock companies, so I myself would not support it. I think that other, internal, methods must be sought and not a solution of this kind. I do not think so. There are determining factors at every joint-stock company. I do not think the fact that the worker can have a share can have all that mobilizing effect. So I do not see a solution in this.

[Berecz] This is not a question of faith. A company law is under preparation and that will also enable the Danube Iron Works, if it is so decided, to reorganize itself into a joint-stock company or to participate in the work of other joint stock companies.

But I would like to respond to this phrase of joint-stock socialism [reszvenyszocializmus]. I have lived through the refrigerator-socialism debate; I have lived through the debate on petit-bourgeois attitudes. We were given the label of gulyas-communism, etc. Our attitude to these is that if a society and an economy function well then it is not the labels which matter but the results of their

functioning. And we shall survive this period as well when we are referred to as joint-stock socialism, and I have faith that we shall build real socialism.

[Moderator] Sandor Postas.

[Postas] I would like to complement what has been said with the thought that we are seeking today the content of the goal of increasing our economic efficiency by preserving the fundamental values of our socialist sytem. It is apparent that in this period of seeking, extremely colorful forms of asset utilization appear, and these can appear to be related to the forms which are used successfully in the nonsocialist economy.

But I think it is also necessary to stress that these must ultimately result in clear social revenue which we use to public benefit. So one must take into account the difference, and perhaps the elements of these forms which help economic efficiency. But I would like to repeat that what I consider as decisive is that the social surplus revenue which they have generated is distributed and used not according to capital interests but according to all-social interests or in a way in which they are motivated primarily or fundamentally by these considerations.

[Moderator] In other words, what is considered as being in the interest of the public can be allowed.

[Postas] I would say that one must make a distinction between what we regard as the fundamental socialist pillars of our society, our current situation, and the elements in our economic management and in our society-building work which have been forced on us and which are at our disposal for a determined period to help us achieve our fundamental goals.

[Moderator] Mihaly Jasso.

[Jasso] At the beginning of this program you asked me if there had been sharp debates at the Budapest Party Committee. This was one of those questions where the debate was rather sharp. This is natural as diverse opinions were voiced. In our stance we reaffirmed the possibility of making use of different forms of property functioning or being able to function. But we see our economic way out essentially not in the functioning of different property forms but in the more efficient operation of the huge social property. So if we can, let's take the debate in this direction—how can we operate private property, say joint-stock companies, private capital, very efficiently?

And if the debate does not go in the direction of how it would be possible to operate the largest portion, then we will lose our way. I detected prejudice in the question—I hope the questioner will excuse me—in the way he attached a label to socialism, as Comrade Berecz has said. We proclaim with conviction that the fundamental question in the agricultural and industrial cooperatives, and especially in the industrial sphere, is the utilization, effective utilization, of assets.

[Moderator] Do you agree with the statement that the same degree of efficiency or even greater efficiency would be needed in the case of state property than what we see with private or group property?

[Jasso] It is not necessarily the size of the property that determines the efficiency of its operation. At most the conditions for competition must be made identical for the two. Today it is easier for private or small properties than for large ones.

[Moderator] We have discussed different opinions. Jozsef Horvath on 690-150 is addressing his question to Janos Lukacs: As part of today's party democracy, how can different opinions he handled? Edit Zsargo from Dunaujvaros asks Janos Berecz: I would like an unambiguous explanation about the difference between minority opinion, opposition, and the enemy. Who decides this, and on what basis?

[Lukacs] I would begin by saying that in the current situation and condition of party democracy the possibility exists for dealing with differing opinions. But our point of departure is that we want to broaden party democracy so that the party's membership can play a better part in the shaping of policies and in deciding all questions that are their affairs.

For this reason, the draft position wishes to broaden party democracy. This is the intention of the party's Central Committee and the party's membership. I think one way toward this can be that we will pay closer attention to differing opinions, too.

[Moderator] The second question was addressed to Janos Berecz:

[Berecz] Well, it is impossible to give an unambiguous and very precise definition off the cuff here. It seems we must deal with this question in our theoretical journals too, although it would be very difficult to put definitions in writing because we are talking about concepts in a state of flux.

Minority views: Not a single idea or suggestion is born in a minority. It is after a decision is made that it is determined whether it remains a minority view or whether it becomes the majority view. The life of the minority opinion does not end even there, because on the basis of practical experiences the so-called minority opinion can be taken up again. It is possible that the decision, the resolution, must be complemented, or that the situation must be completely reevaluated. So there must be a flexible process in which the minority always remains a minority after a concrete decision.

Opposition: I would define opposition in the following way: It takes cognizance of the fundamental frameworks, but apart from them it rejects or questions almost everything else, or it thinks up a different way. But it remains within the fundamental frameworks or, to put it another way, it observes legality.

If it is possible, or if one must talk of enemies here in our country—we would not like to paint the devil on the wall and we would not like to undertake a political struggle of this kind, but we will of course take it on if we are forced to—I describe as an enemy the person who repudiates socialism, rejects the possibility, necessity, of building a socialist Hungary, and who is essentially anticommunist.

[Moderator] Alajos Polya on 114-894 asks Janos Berecz: Why is the so-called Hungarian Democratic Forum regarded as opposition and why is the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDES 2] not allowed to organize?

[Berecz] Well, the Hungarian Democratic Forum is a voluntary debate group that meets from time to time and that has not requested permission for any of its activities. It has not registered itself, it has not officially approached either the government or any similar organ where it needs to register itself. So we note its existence because it is not hostile. But in its statements it sometimes goes beyond what official politics can represent. For this reason, for instance, they not only help the Hungarian cause, let us say, but they cause it certain problems.

And as for FIDESZ—this means Organization of Young Democrats [Fiatal Demokratak Szervezkedese]—in this case, as the draft states, we can conceive any kind of youth movement, association, or group except one: another national political youth organization, because this would trigger such an internal movement, such opposition, within the youth that we cannot afford it at the moment. We cannot afford it much at other times either, but especially now when our most important task is to achieve the creation of a united program.

[Moderator] So that the panel members get a bit of a break and because the people who telephoned in have warned me with a reminder that promises are supposed to be kept and that they want answers to their questions—questions that had been asked over the past 2 and 1/2 days several times, including those we have not yet answered—let us review these questions one at a time:

I would like to ask that if Hungary has a one-party system, then why do they not speak with one voice?

Is there anybody dealing with—or is there a need to deal with—those youngsters who change careers, with young members of the technical intelligentsia who think they are not appropriately respected and who change to different professions—perhaps they learn a different trade or find jobs as unskilled workers or something else?

We have been hearing for decades in various program declarations at the government level about full employment, the leading role of the working class and the welfare of the working class, and it appears these days that, after several periods of unemployment, all this is not true. Has there been a change in this? I would like an answer to this [words indistinct] what has caused this between, let us say, 1970 and 1987 or 1988?

When there is a serious situation abroad, a party conference is convened. When we have a very serious situation here, do we have to convene a party conference?

I am both a party secretary and a foreman in our factory. My question is: How will the position of the party secretary and that of a foreman be related in the future, because according to previous practice the party interfered in many economic matters in which it should not have been participating?

Recently, much has been heard about the party conference, about the expected personnel changes. Until now, we have learned about these after the fact and knew nothing about them in advance. My question is whether now we can learn something about them in advance, what can be expected, in what depth, and are there possibly some concrete names?

[Moderator] There were questions among these which have already been answered, but I want to address the unanswered ones, and I would like to ask for volunteers. The first is from the workers of the Budapest [words indistinct] want to know that if there is a one-party system, why do they not speak with one voice? Janos Lukacs.

[Lukacs] I, too, say that in basic questions of party policy, the party members and the party should speak with one voice. However, most recently—and I feel this way, too—we have been receiving a great many requests to know better the faces of party members, leaders; to learn their opinions on certain issues. For example, we are in a period when we want to assess, decide. And when we speak about the possible alternatives, I can imagine that in such a situation the opinions and assessments of certain leaders may differ. Therefore, I would like to mention once more that unanimity cannot be enforced, of course; but in fundamental questions of policy, after the decision is made, the leaders, the membership of the party, must speak with one voice on basic issues, essential issues.

[Moderator] Could you say that we should get much more used to the fact that the party leaders may put forth various standpoints at party gatherings and it is just as well to accustom us to this?

[Lukacs] Yes, this is the case.

[Moderator] The other question referes to unemployment. Let me just remind you: It seems today that by

emphasizing unemployment we are refuting all the things we have been saying for the past decade. The person asking this wants to know what caused the big change in the period between 1970 to 1988.

[Berecz] I failed to answer a question earlier—the one which asked whether we could carry out the transformation of the production structure without ideological problems. I will answer this question now, together with the one just raised. It has been mentioned already that in the seventies we had a good resolution about a foreign trade strategy and about changing the product structure but we did not carry out that resolution. We didn't do so partly because of an ideological hitch but also because of the sentimental reason that we did not want to touch this or that portion of the working masses, to give them their marching orders from one area to another, to redirect them to another workplace. Today we can no longer afford to maintain sectors which are of no importance in terms of our survival and which are, at the same time, losing money. Therefore, we must change the product structure very resolutely and determinedly.

However, this goes hand in hand with temporary unemployment. The guiding principles stipulate that we still cannot accept long-term unemployment, and that people should switch from certain employment areas to others. A period of retraining is necessary for this. What we are talking about here is a temporary, structural unemployment. However, on the whole, it is alien to socialism.

[Moderator] Mihaly Jasso also contributes here.

[Jasso] This is an issue about which a lively debate has been going on in Hungary. Some earlier questions asked what guarantee there is that our decisions will be carried out in a different way now.

[Moderator] There were other questions, too, but I did not read every one of them.

[Jasso] Well, this is a difficult question because it is probable that in the past, too, we were determined; it is likely that in the interest of social tranquility, a social consensus, we avoided the difficulties. Our desire to return to the old ways was greater than our determination; but we have now reached a limit where returning to the old ways is more dangerous than accepting conflicts for the sake of progress. I think it is a key question.

[Moderator] Personnel problems—you remember, the question went like this: A lot is being heard recently in connection with the party conference about expected personnel changes. Until now, we learned about such change after the fact and knew nothing about them in advance. My question is whether now we can learn about them in advance; what can be expected; in what detail; and is there any possibility something can be said about specific persons now? Comrade Lukacs, please.

[Lukacs] In the past, too, before certain sessions, before the sessions of the Central Committee, before a session of the National Assembly could be heard. [sentence as heard] However, the sources of these things were different, they were not authentic. In my view, the situation is different now, to the extent that our Central Committee at its last session said that in putting certain tasks, questions, on the agenda, the party conference must deal with the attendant personnel issues. To this extent, it is an authentic source, but no more can be said at this stage.

[Moderator] Because?

[Lukacs] Because we cannot.

[Berecz] Not only that. It cannot be done because it is the party conference which must decide these questions, and therefore I cannot say here what it should decide.

[Moderator] Obviously. Mihaly Jasso:

[Jasso] Whatever kind of decision we make in the future, it will only be found out after the fact. The only possible thing is to make the preliminary process more democratic in comparison to our previous practice.

[Moderator] Do those present find it conceivable that the openness which is applicable to all the other issues under debate is applicable also to debates surrounding personnel issues, the openness which we have already agreed is necessary? Openness such as that prior to decisions on the economic alternatives, and the leading role of the party—does it not apply here?

[Berecz] It is applicable to this issue, too, with one single proviso: that dealing with issues of personnel must be done with very great tact when it is done publicly. People may suffer from a wound, a hurt, an injury for years, or even for decades. Therefore we must deal with personnel issues in such a way—as many contributors have said—that a prospect for an honest withdrawal also exists. Therefore I think this issue cannot be analyzed as publicly and in such detail as economic questions, but there is a need to provide tactful information.

[Moderator] Janos Berecz has given us the key word: information. Erika Tamasi on 785-110 asks: In your opinion, why is it one of the characteristics of the party's communiques that the higher-level party forums generally decide on important social and economic questions without the knowledge of the membership, without their having any opportunity to have a say? Why is the party membership increasingly forced to use unofficial channels to get information about questions that preoccupy the leading bodies? Another question by Gaspar Pogany from Kecskemet: Why was such a short time given for

party members to discuss the draft standpoint? Can one expect to have a meaningful say under the circumstances? A listener named Muha asks: In Comrade Berecz's opinion, how will the Central Committee with its present composition reformulate, on a scientific basis, and submit to the party the new standpoint? Take your pick.

[Berecz] This is a flood of questions. I will begin by saying that openness within the party did not receive the appropriate emphasis and appropriate attention in earlier times. In my opinion, after the party conference we must work, if we remain in the Central Committee, in such a way that there should be complete openness before the party membership on internal party questions.

We must regularly use forums and channels through which we can get information very quickly to the grassroots organizations.

Second. The party membership displayed a great deal of expertise in the two debates, as I have mentioned, in January and April. This debate has given it not only a taste but also the intention, as it has brought to the surface, that it wants to continue to have a determined say in shaping policies. So on big questions the entire party membership must certainly be asked, while on less important but still important questions a more narrow debate can be conducted with party aktivs.

Finally, why has there been such a short time? Let us confess that we know ourselves well. If we had given more time for the debate than for the start of the implememtation of the task this year, we would have again lost another year. We could have a good little debate until August, then have a conference some time in September or October, and then we are relaxed because here is 1 January, so we can start the implementation on 1 January.

We must now take the step this year on all fundamental questions necessary for the implementation of the resolutions of the national party conference. Hence, the tighter debate but more time for the formulation of the practical aspect; but we must do even that tightly and quickly.

[Moderator] Mihaly Jasso:

[Jasso] There were three questions: Was the time too short? But one must look at the debates in their entirety, the whole party life: individual discussions, the debate over the ideological theses, debate over the theses, debate over the guidelines. All this amounted to 5 or 6 months. This was about politics in its entirety. It has probably given the Central Committee enough to be able to stand up at the party conference with a realistic assessment of the situation. This is one of the significant issues.

Scientific analysis. On Saturday the Budapest party committee adopted the stance that the party conference should now seek answers to a few questions. It should not try to answer everything, for that will give rise only to slogans and not a scientific assessment. It should distance itself from a few questions and on a few questions it should undertake to have a scientific analysis carried out, in the thorough evaluation of the past 15-20 years, for instance. This is the requirement we expressed.

The third point is openness. This has been brought to life in the past weeks in connection with the party. I myself received a letter yesterday from a leading journalist, who wrote thanking me for the invitation to the session of the Budapest party committee. He used to have a negative perception of our work and was very glad to experience that responsible debate, and so on. I have thanked him.

The television "Newsreel" program also visited me. There as well we spent almost an hour talking with the comrades after the "Newsreel's" filming was over. Both cases are a warning to me that we may have to open ourselves to the world more, but it was not we, at the Budapest party committee for instance, who have locked ourselves away from the glare of publicity until now.

[Moderator] So who was it?

[Jasso] Perhaps there was not even any interest in our work as there was not in the past.

[Moderator] I think I can deny this on behalf of the Hungarian press. Janos Berecz:

[Berecz] There was another question: Can the material be reformulated in such a short time? Not only can it be reformulated, it must be reformulated, and let us regard this as a test for the Central Committee.

[Moderator] Namely a test for whether it is possible to work this fast?

[Berecz] It must be done.

[Moderator] There is a question addressed to Janos Lukacs by Mrs Bela Krazer on 777-204. She says: I do not yearn for the times when in the spirit of party democracy we were informed 24 hours in advance of price rises. But as a party member I do expect to be informed about party decisions in time and with precision. Why is this not a general practice in the MSZMP?

[Lukacs] I would like to begin by saying that I do not yearn for those times either, especially if the substance of the information is, let us say, price rises. But this is one of those questions where the party wishes to make changes. Many remarks are addressed to us to the effect that there should be more regular and more open information on the Central Committee's work, the Politburo's work. We agree on this; this has been expressed in the draft standpoint.

But the problem, in my judgment, is broader. The openness of party work is not just a central question. The openness of party work is important for a regional party organization, a town party committee; it is important in a factory, an institution. If communists discuss something, I think it is a very justified demand that the working collective or the people living or working there should know what the communists have been discussing.

So it is necessary to make a change, and there must be a change. I think this matter is one of those that fall in the category where perhaps one should not even wait for the stance of the party conference because, and we have recognized this, there is a general demand for this. There is readiness for this. In my view this can and must be practiced from today and even yesterday.

[Moderator] So there is no need to wait until 20 May when a new license is printed. The existing license must be read and used.

[Lukacs] Yes.

[Moderator] The following package of questions demonstrates that information work is not perfect in the case of party members and nonparty members. Tibor Thuroczy, telephone 570-025: The issue of responsibility and a demand for calling to account was often heard at the county party conferences that summarized the debates in the basic organizations. However, in this regard the wording of the draft party conference standpoint is very general. Why is that?

Zoltan Cseh, telephone number 642-282: We have heard from the party's general secretary that there are no solid ideas yet regarding possible personnel changes, but irrespective of the concrete changes of personnel, do you view the party's cadre policy as good?

Finally, I will say that there also is the follow-up question: Why do we not create the conditions for the honorable retirement of leaders? Why is it that a well-deserved retirement at the end of a rich life means a sort of downgrading of the person in the eyes of the public?

The final question in this group: Is there any connection between the earlier visit by Gromyko, and now of Ryzhkov, with the party conference? If you please, this question was obviously formulated because there was, or may have been, a kind of gap in information work. Who will be the first?

[Berecz] Let us begin. So far, we have declared that the members of the body take part as a collective in decisionmaking, and everyone is individually responsible for implementation. I believe that from this viewpoint we must go a step further and say that every member of the body must accept personal responsibility in collective decisions, that in the future it would not be possible for a person to keep silent, to not make a contribution, to not pay attention. We formulated collective responsibility in the draft: the Central Committee, the Central Committee organs—this is primarily the Politburo and the Secretariat—and the government as well. I have already said that in such a document it is difficult to establish the personal responsibility of X,Y,Z because it is impossible to measure in inches; on the other hand, we have no reason to search for a scapegoat, nor should we. We must act with suitable discretion for there to be the possibility of honorable retirement, if the mistake and the responsibility involved is not of a scale that would make it necessary for us to reach another conclusion.

Regarding cadre policy, I...

[Moderator] Excuse me, before you turn to that, it is possible that the party forums are not suitable for this, but now that we are in private, with only a few million people, would you undertake to tell the forum, for example, what you personally consider yourself to be responsible for in the past years?

[Berecz] There is a need, now, for the necessary discretion. [laughter] In the summer of 1982 I ended up in a situation where I was able to deal with not a detailed issue of policy, but with all of it, and gradually my voice in it grew. Thus, offhand, a person suffers great torment over these things. After all, it is no small matter to look into the eyes of a nation.

First, I feel myself to be at fault for having believed the improving phenomena of 1983-84 to be a tendency. I wanted so much for the situation to improve that it escaped my attention, I became blind, politically, to processes that existed, behind the improving tendency, the improving phenomena, too.

Moreover, because I accepted with full enthusiasm—and I proclaimed it—the resolution of the 13th Congress, which was based on this—we were now on the upswing, it was the end of the tunnel—I was impatient with the views and attitudes urging caution on us, saying the situation was more difficult than that, that the main tendency was worse, and that these would prevail. From the summer of 1985, gradually, and in 1986, I had some pangs of conscience that a certain political blindness had characterized my conduct about the 13th Congress.

[Moderator] You were on cadre policy when I interrupted you.

[Berecz] Regarding cadre policy, I consider the principles to be good; but the practice has been very mediocre. On this, some guarantees are to be submitted to the party conference that higher organs should not intervene in the selection of cadres, there should not be preliminary designations from above, and so on, so it should be asserted that the given collective decides openly on its own leaders. Things such as how many cycles there are,

or whether there should be multiple candidacy, are administrative, accompanying phenomena that do not reflect the essence, but help the essence to be asserted.

[Moderator] If you please.

[Berecz] Regarding the visits here by the Soviet leaders, the visit by the Soviet premier was very important for us; and Comrade Grosz has spoken several times about what kind of talks were held. From this, it is clear that the two countries' economic relations were the primary issue, and there was a rigorous debate on the present and the future of these economic relations. In the case of Comrade Gromyko, we considered it an honor that his first foreign trip as head of state was to us, but we cannot close the gates, say that foreigners cannot come here, prior to an important, national event. [words indistinct] They come to whisper—well, do we have to be whispered to?

[Moderator] There is still a question for Janos Lukacs about the change of conditions for the honorable retirement of leaders.

[Lukacs] Yes. That also is one my tasks, but I would like to second what has been said on the issue of responsibility and cadre policy, as well. Because I believe that our draft, which we have released for debate, is very clear on a very important point in the issue of responsilbility: that responsibility primarily burdens not those tasked but those who bear it. The Central Committee session in 1986, and now, too, said that if things are not going well in our country—and things perceptibly were not going well—the cause and the solution must be sought not in the implementation, but in the direction. This is an important orientation.

I wanted to return to this because we are not only looking back at the situation, cause, responsibility, but we also have to look ahead; and in this connection, I would like to emphasize the responsibility for leadership. I would like to add to Comrade Berecz' statement that our cadre policy practice leaves much to be desired, while agreeing with his critical observations I say: Here as anywhere, the issue at hand is a process. Taking the past few years as a basis, I say that radical changes in the right direction have begun in our cadre policy and in our practice. I am thinking solely of the fact that an ever-wider sphere of leaders is not appointed, but elected—that they are elected by secret ballot, that a competitive system has been introduced, and multiple candidacy is more and more frequent. All of these are not just endeavors, not intentions, but facts.

[Moderator] So far 1,315 questions have come in; I now have time for only 2. One of them is addressed to us, television people; the other is addressed to Janos Berecz. Will the party conference be publicly broadcast? Yes. On the first and final days there will be direct relays, and afternoon and evening roundups on all 3 days.

And the other question: Why does the party not have a spokesman?

[Berecz] The party is not very likely to have a single appointed spokesman. Such a spokesman would have to possess as much knowledge as the general secretary. However, we shall regularly appoint spokesmen in every sphere. After every Central Committee session the official in charge of the topic will appear as spokesman, either on television or radio. And there will be a spokesman every day at the party conference; he will give information to domestic and foreign journalists, and to television as well, on the day's events; and he will answer questions.

[Moderator] Thank you. Unfortunately, we do not have time for the other questions. However, NEPSZABADSAG will deal on two occasions next week with a significant portion of the questions which have come in but have not been answered here. Apart from that, on 1 May in Varosliget, starting at 1530 at the NEPSZABADSAG forum, leading personalities will answer the questions which have been collected here and put into groups. I thank the participants in the forum for coming here and attempting to stand up heroically to this innundation of questions. I wish them the most effective work possible in the coming weeks, which will meet with a greater consensus than hitherto. I thank the dear viewers for their attention, and I wish them a pleasant evening.

Strikes Continue, Marred by Violence 3 May

Wroclaw Rail Workers End Stoppage

LD0305144688 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Today at W2 section of the Pafawag [Railway rolling stock factory in Wroclaw] a rally of workers was held at 1000 which was attended by about 400 to 500 people. In all, the Pafawag employees [passage indistinct] made demands, among other things, for the wages for all employees to be increased by 20,000 zlotys, and wages linked with price index increases in all goods and services, and insurance that [words indistinct] working conditions by regular supply of materials and coproduction regardless of foreign currency restrictions.

After an hour, the factory director, the first secretary of the works party committee, the chairman of the trade unions, the chairman of the Socialist Youth Union branch, and the leadership of the workers' self-management met the four negotiators. The director suggested ways and principles for reviewing the demands and dealing with conflict situations, and also stated that the rally was illegal, and that the four negotiators were an informal group. He called on those taking part in the rally to start working.

The negotiators attempted to hand in demands. The director pointed out the principles in force for the workforce to make demands and how they should be submitted. After a debate, the negotiators submitted their demands to the presidium of the workers' council and the trade unions, promising [passage indistinct]. At 1245 those taking part in the rally started working.

Shipyard Strike Illegal, Punishable

LD0305145088 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 3 May 88

[Summary from poor reception] Two communiques have been read to the strikers at the Lenin shipyard. The first communique stated that the strike was illegal, and that participation in such an illegal strike was punishable; the second communique was from the management of the shipyard. "The morning shift went home, having finished work."

"All other enterprises of Gdansk and Elblag region are working normally."

80 Percent of Workforce Out

AU0305145988 Paris AFP in English 1434 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, May 3 (AFP)—Strike action at the giant Lenin shipyard in Gdansk intensified Tuesday to take in 80 per cent of the 12,000 workforce, management said as the government ruled out talks with the banned Solidarity union.

Around 300 students occupied lecture rooms at the University of Gdansk in support of the strike, reliable local sources said, adding that more students were joining the action. [passage omitted]

In Warsaw, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban rejected calls for "union pluralism" and said that those out on strike were "a threat" to the socialist system.

Mr. Urban ruled out any talks with Solidarity leaders, stressing that the government had "nothing to say to them." He also accused an unidentified "Western country" of "paying and directing, directly or otherwise," opposition leaders in Poland. "Some strikes were caused by professional activists," he said.

In Gdansk, the historian Adam Michnik, who has close Solidarity links, was arrested Tuesday as he walked through the city's streets with his wife and son.

Opposition sources said that a total of 400 people had been arrested in Poland since Sunday, while the authorities put the figure at around 100.

Meanwhile, some 3,000 young Poles—mainly students—attended a meeting in the eastern city of Lublin, in support of the Gdansk strikers and those at Nowa Huta.

In the southwestern city of Wroclaw, a strike broke out Tuesday at the Pafawag railroad equipment factory, but was called off after a few hours folowing a management agreement to open negotiations on demands by the firm's 4,000 workers. [passage omitted]

A meeting attended by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was held Tuesday morning outside the Lenin shipyard gates.

Mr. Walesa appealed in a communique received here by AFP for trade unions "worldwide" to give material aid to Solidarity. He said the union would support financially all workers sacked for taking part in strikes or deprived of pay by management. [passage omitted]

Manager Appeals to Workers

LD0305150588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] As our Krakow correspondent reports, the situation in the Lenin steelworks is unchanged—part of the workforce is still on strike. A communique from the managing director of the plant is being broadcast on the enterprise public address system:

Steelworker friends! Despite the offer of the maximum possible growth of earnings within the plant, of a more than 50-percent growth in earnings in the plant this year relative to last year, despite warnings and appeals, the strike in parts of the enterprise is continuing. Normal work in part of the other departments has been restored.

The effects of this for the economy, plant and the country are becoming dramatic. The attempt to start talks with the strike committee yesterday ended with the passing on to the management of seven conditions having an introductory character, leading to long talks with the simultaneous continuation of the strike. The strike committee does not undertake to discontinue the strike, despite the granting of far reaching guarantees also from the voivodship prosecutor as to the nonapplication of sanctions for all the strike participants in the case of its termination, [speaker corrects herself] I'm sorry, discontinuation.

I have a justified fear as to whether this information has got through to the workforce, just like part of the decision regarding the necessity of restarting work on Friday, 29 April at 2200. Guided by the deepest concern for the vital interests of the workforce, I am authorized to guarantee the validity of these decisions in the area of: Resignation from the application of disciplinary and wage sanctions relating to the annual Steelworkers Charter [Kartka Hutnika] payment and the awards from profit; the nonapplication of penal sanctions for the direction of and participation in the strike action, if the strike in the steelworks ceases and work is undertaken by 4 o'clock tomorrow [time not further specified], 4 May.

I appeal to you. Show sense and courage when pressures are put on you that do not serve the interests of the workforce at this dramatic moment. There are many matters that can and must be discussed, but only when the strike is discontinued and special emotions vanish.

Let sense [rozsadek] prevail. Every other and necessary solution [as heard] will bring in its wake enormous harm for all.

[Signed] The managing director.

1,000 Lubin Copper Miners Sit-in

AU0305153388 Paris AFP in English
1529 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 3 (AFP)—Some 1,000 copper miners in southwestern Poland on Tuesday began a sit-in strike, refusing to return to the surface at the end of their shift, union sources reported.

The action took place at one of the three pits at the Rudna mine in Lubin, a key copper-mining centre, where the dawn shift went down the pit as normal but did not re-emerge.

The next shift was consequently ordered not to go down to work, the sources said. Instead, they gathered in the town's main square, setting up a strike committee which listed their demands.

The Lubin complex, consisting of both mines and forges, employs a total of 40,000 people, with one-tenth of these working at the Rudna pits.

Warsaw Reports Pickets at Shipyards

LD0305162888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] At the Gdansk shipyard this morning a group of about 200 shipyard workers was walking around the shipyard calling for a work stoppage. On the other hand, a group of about 500 people picketed the main gate, No. 2. After the end of the first shift, at 1400, the greater part of the workers on that shift left the shipyard area and went home. However, a group of several hundred is still picketing the gate to the Gdansk shipyards.

Solidarity 'Dissidents' Arrested

LD0305163388 Hamburg DPA in German
1505 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The leadership of the banned Solidarity trade union want to try to support striking workers suffering from financial losses. In an open letter signed by Chairman Lech Walesa and Zbigniew Romaszewski, all Solidarity organisations have been called upon to produce lists of those suffering from financial losses. Since Solidarity does not have sizeable funds. Polish workers and foriegn trade unions are being called upon to contribute.

Dissidents arrested for "warning talks" today included Solidarity adviser Adam Michnik and Leszek Moczulski, head of the nationalist "Confederation of Independent Poland".

Polish Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp has avoided so far adopting a stance on the latest developments. In his sermon on the occasion of the festival of "Mary, Queen of Poland" at the Czestochowa place of pilgrimage he concerned himself with purely religious topics. The Polish bishops have assembled in Czestochowa for a bishops' conference.

DPA Sees Greater 'Social Unrest'

LD0305163888 Hamburg DPA in German
1415 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, (DPA)—With the spread of the strike in Krakow to Gdansk and Wroclaw, social unrest in Poland has taken on an ever stronger political dimension. It is no longer merely about higher wages, but also about solidarity with the steel workers as well as the recognition of the banned trade union Solidarity and its leaders. [passage omitted]

A mass took place today in the steelworks with, according to strikers' information, about 3,000 people taking part. Out of solidarity with the striking steel workers, students in Krakow and Warsaw have declared a boycott of lectures. According to information from Solidarity circles, workers in the Pafawag works in Wroclaw called off their solidarity strike with Nowa Huta early this afternoon after the management agreed to talks about their demands. [passage omitted]

Legalization of Solidarity Demanded

LD0305170188 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] A strike situation has become established at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk since this morning. Today the factory radio broadcast three communiques, as follows:

[Passage indistinct] they are illegal acts and, in connection with this, their participants can be made to carry disciplinary and penal responsibility, and calling for immediate unblocking of the shipyard gates; an address by the shipyard director which contained information about the wage settlements known to the workers, already introduced this year and being prepared for introduction from 1 August this year; [passage indistinct] The trade union of employees of the Gdansk Shipyard, reporting on negotiations begun by the union with the shipyard management.

The atmosphere and situation in the early morning hours indicated that the employees coming to the shipyard would start work. This did not happen, however. Some of the shipyard workers worked; some waited at their work places for the situation to develop. An active group, which numbered about 200 people yesterday, increased to about 1,000. [passage indistinct] some people also acted to try to interfere with the shipyard workers who were working. One of the demands of the workers is a wage increase of Z15-20,000 and the restoration of the activity of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity.

After 1400 the majority of the first shift of employees of the Lenin Shipyard went home.

The remaining plants in Gdansk and Elblag Voivodship worked normally.

Urban: Economic Reform Threatened

LD0305175588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1407 GMT 3 May 88

[Statement by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at 3 May press conference in Warsaw—recorded]

[Text] The strikes which have arisen and other which they are attempting to call do not threaten the socialist state. It has strong internal and external foundations. They do, however, threaten the economic reform; they could defer or derail it. The reform, however, is our national opportunity to overcome the difficulties of life and economic backwardness. The strikes hit the program for the development of the multisector economy based on the market and the freedom of human initiatives. The political slogans which are starting to accompany the strikes undermine the policy of a gradual and steady development and intensification of democracy within socialist pluralism, the policy of increasing personal liberties and diversity of public life, the policy of a fruitful expansion of cooperation between church and state, whose role has grown systematically.

Those who provoke the strikes maintain that they want greater democracy, but they lead to the opposite results. The jointing of the opponents of socialism in the strikes and their attempts to politicize them indicate that the development of liberties in socialism can be misused against socialism. [words indistinct] of us all is to prove that that won't happen, that liberties don't threaten socialism. It is a mistake to believe that the pressure from strikes will accelerate successfully the transformations and widen their horizons. Only the opposite can result. The creation of tensions by strike demands can only break the democratization processes and their reformatory essence. Whoever believes that they can be speeded up in this manner is under an illusion.

What is occurring is not a repeat of 1980. In 1980, as a result of the bad policy of the then authorities, crisis phenomena mounted and justified opposition by the working-class exploded against the bad policy, the falsification of reality, various distortions, and the lack of reforms. This time, strikes have exploded at the very start of the transition to a radical form of great reforms and in a situation where it is not necessary to discontinue work in order to speak with full voice and be heard. Thus the strikes are unjustified and harmful, both politically and economically. only one thing is similar, to 1980—in certain cases the same people who almost shattered the Polish economy through strikes in 1981 are attempting to call strikes and steer them. some of them are not working people now, but professional politicians.

A Western state, directly or indirectly, pays for their affluent life in Poland and steers their activities. Recently I said that they did not account for $70,000 allocated for activity, that this amount stuck to their fingers. There were not even any denials.

These people openly declare in their publications that they wish to create a new crisis in Poland. They feel that the worse things are in Poland the better, as poverty and conflicts compromise socialism.

I have a tape recording of what Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, adviser to the U.S. National Security Council said to the Polish team of Radio Free Europe, that he directed some years ago. He explained at length that the leaders of the former Solidarity cannot be paid directly by the U.S. authorities—that would be a mistake. Their pay should be sent via the western trade unions, otherwise Polish public opinion will not tolerate it, as they would also technically become U.S. agents, Jan Nowak said. Perhaps it is worth broadcasting on Polish Radio what Jan Nowak said.

I once used the unfortunate phrase that the Polish Government could feed itself. Professional activists continuing to use the name Solidarity feed themselves there,

and they can afford to call strikes, for their material success does not depend either upon the Polish economy or upon the toil of workers, or on their own work. Here I am talking about the instigators of some of the strikes, the people who infiltrate plants where they do not work, in order to cause the strikes, or those who act in this direction outside the enterprises. At 1600 yesterday the U.S. CNN television stated outright: Solidarity called for antigovernment rallies and marches in order to heighten the tension caused by the 6th day of workers' strikes. End quote.

The authorities are aware that the strikers include people who are embittered, embittered by the difficulties in their
actions, full of worry on whether they are doing well, worried about the further effects of the strikes. We do not treat them as enemies. We hope that once [words indistinct] they will ponder on the purpose of the strike actions.

One more thing: We are being warned against breaking the strikes by force. I wish to point out that force is used by the groups who are at the core of the strikers. They break the laws, they put pressure on their fellow workers, they make pay demands which in no way put pressure on the government or the state—it is the pressure on Polish society which would have to bear the effects of yielding to such demands. I shall now quote Wojciech Jaruzelski who said on 1 May: No return from openness, democratization, and the line of national accord, no return to the anarchy and turmoil. We shall not stop under the resistance of the antireform forces, the forces for the preservation of the status quo, but we shall not yield either to the pressure of the adventurist, destructive forces. There will be no dismantling of the foundations of the system. End quote.

The strike pressure is also unjustified if one looks at the calendar (?used in) the current disturbances (?at work) and the demands. The introduction of the second stage of reform was accompanied by an announcement that in the middle of the year the government and the trade unions will analyze the level of wages, prices, and cost of living in order to draw necessary conclusions from this analysis.

At the ZSL Congress Wojciech Jaruzelski announced that if the economic phenomena of the first quarter show distortions and an insufficiently effective introduction of the reform, activities for the acceleration of reforms and its introduction will be undertaken and also for the indispensible shielding of the standard of living of working people. A package of proposals recently arrived at the Sejm with this intention.

It is also necessary to remember the fact that, in accordance with the assumptions of the reform, unprofitable enterprises will be reorganized or even closed. Public opinion critically evaluates the too slow and insufficiently radical activities of the authorities in this matter. The situation of enterprises that have discontinued work can become particularly difficult. The dragging on of strikes can cause losses such that afterwards the recovery of the situation of these enterprises will be impossible and will threaten them with bankruptcy, with all the ensuing consequences.

It is a paradox that millions of working people contribute to lossmaking enterprises in which demands for high wage increases are now put forward, [word indistinct] with a strike or the threat of a strike. The government turns to the workforces so that they will consider properly the eventual results of strikes and the threats of strikes.

The disorganisation of production results in a fall in consumption, as happened in 1981, which in any case only 2 percent of Poles regarded as a good year. The economic demands of unjustified pay rises cause money to be valueless to buy goods, and thus again there will only be vinegar for us in the stores.

This situation in Poland is not seen any differently by Western observers, who look at it soberly. The West German newspaper, KOLNISCHE RUNDSCHAU, wrote, and I quote: No small amount of statements can be heard in Solidarity, which are characterized by satisfaction at the complex situation. It would be better if Solidarity activists were worried by this situation. Poland needs everything but strikes. A country which is deeply in debt, which is desperately attempting to achieve a growth in the rate of production, ceaselessly trying to gain foreign trust, in order to break through the barriers of the credit blockage, that is the sort of country Poland is today. The strikes are breaking out at the most disadvantageous time as could possibly be imagined. It is simultaneously the most incorrect way to give the country hope again. Speaking most simply, Poland cannot allow itself the luxury of striking. End of the quote from the article by the editor-in-chief of the KOLNISCHE RUNDSCHAU.

Urban Outlines Strike Situation

LD0305195888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Here is a report on today's press conference by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban prepared by Marek Kassa.

[Begin recording] [Kassa] Jerzy Urban began the conference with presentation of some of the views on the situation in Poland. [passage omitted]

The spokesman answered questions. One of the first questions was asked by Renate Marsch from DPA. She was interested in where in Poland there are strikes in progress.

[Urban] There are three strikes: In Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, part of the workforce is on strike, part is not, and part—it is not known if they are striking or not; they are waiting, they are not joining in, the situation is not very clear. In Nowa Huta the strike is on, unchanged; today 1,700 persons are on strike in several sections. A strike has occured in some of the Pafawag Works, about 500 people are on strike there, that is, about half of the shift.

[Kassa] Ladies and gentlemen, the spokesman's statement on the Pafawag Works is already out of date, because as our colleagues from Worclaw report the work there is continuing without any disturbances. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Politburo Views May Day, Strikes

LD0305182188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] This afternoon the Politburo gathered and discussed the May Day celebrations this year, stressing the large-scale participation of citizens. The Politburo expresses thanks to everyone who, taking part in the May Day festivities, demonstrated their support for the socialist renewal, democratization, openness, economic reforms, and national accord. This is even more precious because there exists a danger of disruption to the transformations. The Politburo fully understands and shares the concerns of the citizens and is in favor of resolving, together with the workforces, the contradictions and problems which arise, but this must be accompanied by realism and a sense of responsibility for the future of Poland.

We must resolutely oppose the threat of destabilization of the economy and in consequence, the inevitable deterioration of the living and working conditions of citizens. In particular we must not allow a fall in production, depletion of the market and infringement of the public order, legal order, and discipline. This is the common interest of all working people, above any differences.

The Politburo expects from party echelons and organizations and the state authorities more consistency and resolve in carrying out reforms, developing self-government, and increasing the participation of working people in the management of the economy and deciding on national affairs. It was stressed that further reforming moves are needed.

Socialist pluralism and development of the democracy creates and will create increased possibilities for expression of various views, the undertaking of initiatives, and the widening of the field of social activity. The common denominator must be the good of Poland.

The Politburo meeting is still in progress.

State Department Comments Noted

LD0305190488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Here is Zbigniew Bozyczko reporting from New York:

[Bozyczko] In connection with the strike actions in Poland, the Department of State spokesman yesterday made a terse statement, in which he stated that the success of economic reforms requires a dialogue of the government and society. It is stressed in press comments that public dissatisfaction at the price rises was expected and that it is a necessary element of the present reforms which are being introduced.

Today's despatches from Gdansk point out that there is no comparison with the situation in 1980. The daily NEWS DAY writes that there is not the political excitement which accompanied the events of 8 years ago. Many Poles, both opponents and adherents of the government economic policy, are of the opinion that the strikes can only worsen the situation. THE NEW YORK TIMES writes that Walesa's appeal for strikes throughout Poland has not met with any response in work enterprises. The press quotes the statement of Industry Minister Jerzy Bilip that the government would undertake all legal steps to bring about the end of the strikes.

Police, Demonstrators Clash in Warsaw

LD0305200788 Hamburg DPA in German 1919 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—There have been clashes today in Warsaw between demonstrators and police. After a church service, on the occasion of the former Polish national celebration day, a protest march formed in the cathedral to go to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. This march was forced away.

The people streamed back to the church. The demonstrators shouted: "Solidarity" and "we greet the steel workers." Numerous people were arrested. From other cities in Poland, including Lublin, demonstrations have been reported this evening, which have been violently dispersed.

Steelworks Director Outlines Talks

LD0305202388 Warsaw PAP in English 1707 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Krakow, May 3—Managing Director of the Lenin steel mill Eugeniusz Pustowka told PAP about the current situation in the metallurgical combine:

Work stoppage is now under way in the breakdown mill, the wire mill, the steel strip mill, in the cold reduction mills and in the workshop. The rest of the steelworks is

operating. The stoppage embarces final products departments which yield commodities whose shortage affects daily the financial-economic situation of the mill and its co-producers.

We practically concluded negotiations with the negotiating committee of the independent self-governing trade union of the Lenin steelworks' employees. It is but one pay postulate which makes us work out records of divergencies. [sentence as received] The trade union will turn to the social arbitration commission at the Krakow Voivodship Court to solve the dispute. While negotiating with the trade union committee we presented a programme of pay changes envisaged in the mill this year basing on the mill's financial plan, which permit pays to go up by over 50 per cent on average.

Despite the appeal to resume work, which is the condition of conducting arbitration by the court, the illegal strike in the aforementioned departments is continuing. This action complicates the economic-financial situation of the mill and—if continued—may totally obstruct the meeting of various needs of the crew, the pay rise programme included. Even so, we assess that, irrespective of the large dimension of the hitherto losses, it will prove possible to make up for delays and fulfill the plan provided that work is resumed immediately. I hope that the awareness of harm being done to themselves and to others within co-production schemes will prompt the strikers the right solution. We are doing a lot for this to become a fact.

The postulates presented to us during the protest action did not include postulates concerning social welfare and housing issues. We recognized the resolution of the crew's housing problems as one of the most important tasks.

We have been working according to the reform's principles since 1982. They make it possible for us—with a considerable drop of employment, by 20 per cent—to increase labour productivity, profit, to undertake many a profitable, independent initiative.

The negative effects of the strike action are detrimental to numerous economic-financial conditions of the mill and may delay the implementation of the reform's programme. I hope, however, that this will not happen, that we will soon resume work and jointly make up for the arrears.

PAP: Engineers Support Reform

LD0305202588 Warsaw PAP in English
1746 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 3—At an extraordinary meeting here Monday the leadership of the Chief Council, the Main Board and the Main Audit Committee of the Federation of Professional Engineers Associations N.O.T. affiliating 25 associations and 500,000 members assessed the current socio-economic determinants of their professional and social activity.

The participants adopted a statement in which they put the equation mark between their own fates and that of the reform, stressing that there is no other way to improved functioning of the economy. Excerpts:

"Our milieu stressed on many occasions that the reform's success and improved economic situation are determined by an increase in production and in supplies for the domestic market and for export. That is why every stoppage of work and of production process, wherever it occurs, breaks the chain of communicating vessels formed by all enterprises, the big ones in particular," the statement reads.

The ongoing changes in the economic system may create divergencies and conflicts as to the manner and scope of their implementation. They may also result in a gap between society's expectations for higher incomes and solutions which make pay growth increasingly dependent on economic results of enterprises.

N.O.T. forwarded in the past and continues to forward postulates aimed at a quicker and more effective improvement in the conditions of the functioning of state enterprises, and also at intensified motivation in the wage policy.

"We negotiate our reasons in tune with legal regulations and with the current economic capacities. We think that our postulates cannot be formulated aside from concrete work results and quality, from economic performance of the enterprise concerned, and first of all they cannot be put into effect at the cost of other socio-professional groups."

PAP: Frasyniuk Dolmel 'Raid' Fails

LD0305203988 Warsaw PAP in English
1737 GMT 3 May 88

["Abortive Raid on Dolmel"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, May 3—After yesterday's strike and rally staged by part of the "Dolmel" worker crew, the Wroclaw-based GAZETA ROBOTNICZA writes in a commentary titled "Failed Raid" (excerpts):

"Gossip has been circulating in Wroclaw for several days. Every now and again someone (who.) was telling a sensational news: They strike here, they have a rally there and...They get higher wages. [sentence as received]

"(...) The gossip which, as its authors and circulators had apparently planned, was to incite people into various inconsiderate and illegal actions, did not work. In this situation the 'chief' himself, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, took

action. The same man who once being an influential activist of the 'Solidarnosc' had greatly contributed to squandering the opportunity brought to Poland by the 'Solidarnosc.'

"On May 2d the former idol infiltrated into the 'Dolmel', went through several departments (W-1, W-2, W-5) and managed to create a situation when some of the workers, several hundred out of the 2,700 on the first shift, staged a rally.

"(...) But the raid on 'Dolmel' was no success for Frasyniuk," writes GAZETA ROBOTNICZA. "This man, still calling himself a worker activist, has failed to notice that the workers think and know. They think about the fact that they need 'Nowa Huta' products for their own production and finance. No one passed (a resolution-ed.) supporting the few striking departments in the Nowa Huta steel mill.

"The talks with managers were attended by representatives of the factory's trade union and a 3-person representation of the rally. Nobody even thought of inviting Frasyniuk to the talks. The people on the rally together with the first shift peacefully left the plant. The second shift started work as usual..."

Hundreds Block Shipyard Gates

LD0305205088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] Several hundred people are continuing to block the gates of the Gdansk shipyard. [passage omitted]

Most workers of the first shift left the shipyard after the shift ended. The shipyard workers who were leaving after their shift by the main gate, which is particularly strongly picketed by the instigators of the strike, were bombarded with shouts of blacklegs, traitors, and with cat whistles.

During the day rallies were held at the main gate. Lech Walesa made two speeches. His rally speech was applied to by chairman of the shipyards' works trade unions (Koscielski). He presented the unions' actions regarding the matters of employees and against the price increases. He spoke about the content of the shipyard workers' council communique, which speaks of enormous losses caused by the production stoppage, the effects of the undermining of trade credibility vis-a-vis the foreign partners, and the fact that this could pose a threat of bankruptcy to the shipyard.

Walesa interrupted and afterward left the rally saying he was going to a May mass. The strike in the shipyard is being watched by crews of large television stations from United States and the FRG.

Nowa Huta Union Chief Interviewed

LD0305205588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 3 May 88

[Interview with Wladyslaw Sitkowski, chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Nowa Huta Combine Employees, by correspondent Wojciech Pawiak; in Nowa Huta 3 May—live or recorded]

[Text] [Pawiak] Several hours after his communique was broadcast, I have at the microphone Wladyslaw Sitkowski, chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of combine employees. How have the metallurgical workers received the managing director's appeal?

[Sitkowski] Copies were run off and sent around the plants so that as many people as possible would know that was in this appeal. I think a good thing here was the broadcast over the factory radio system. At (?the rally), I saw people, a large number of people, concentrating on and listening to this communique.

[Pawiak] Indeed, one can conclude from this that the previous communiques, by the director and the trade unions, did not get through to everybody.

[Sitkowski] Yes, of course. We are getting these signals from the plants and from people directly that they did not get to know about the management communique or about ours. Hence our trade unionists have been at the plants, where they have the mateial and know what is going on, know our demands and the management communiques and also that everybody can come and (?find things out), and, in addition, get advice and (?counsel), and can see how exactly things are: Things like those communiques that were (?held back). They did not get through to that part of the workforce which is, in fact, disoriented.

Massive Police Presence Seals Shipyard

LD0305223288 Hamburg DPA in German 2137 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk was today sealed off by a massive police presence. Lech Walesa, leader of the banned trade union Solidarity, remained on the premises together with some 1,500-2,000 striking workers. At the same time radio and television stations repeated an ultimatum from the director of the Lenin Steelworks in Nowa Huta which threatened the striking workers with reprisals if they did not end the strike by 0400 on Friday. A Politburo meeting lasted until the early evening in Warsaw. Observers did not exclude the possibility of plans for overnight police operations against the strikers.

Demonstrations for Solidarity and in support of the strikers were held in Krakow, Warsaw, Gdansk, Lublin, and Lodz. They were dispersed by the police. In Krakow, in particular, there was an almost euphoric atmosphere

among more than 6,000 demonstrators, who repeatedly shouted: "Down with the Communists." During a subsequent march through the city center the demonstrators were dispersed by a heavy police contingent.

Numerous arrests of Solidarity leaders and other dissidents were reported throughout the country during the course of today. In Warsaw, Solidarity spokesmen, who report mainly to Western correspondents, had their telephones cut off. Lech Walesa and numerous regional Solidarity organizations have called on workers to strike and solidarity actions if the leadership uses force against the strikers.

PAP Sees 'Turning Point' for Reform

LD0305223988 Warsaw PAP in English 2117 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 3—It seems that the situation in Poland can be deemed as a turning point for the second stage of economic reform. With all the very difficult external determinants (also created on purpose) the first quarter of the year brought about generally good results. Such an evaluation would, however, be a simplified one.

Economic balance, and especially market balance, is a key matter. In this field progress has not been made yet.

Against this backdrop, in the social layer, two phenomena seem as determinating the mutual relation between the authorities and society. Those in charge of the reforms are trying with outmost consistency to create, as far as possible, institutional systems permitting an animation of independent and responsible activities iof enterprises and crews. At the same time society assesses the results of these steps as very limited.

It seems that the sharp clash of interests in struggle for distribution bears a fundamental impact on the behavior of crews and their self self-managements. It can be explained by objective causes, such as shortages of raw materials, only partially. The significant causes lie deeper in stereotypes of thinking, in a deep-down conviction that "the top has unlimited resources from which one can, in the struggle for the said distribution, draw more or less."

Contradicting interests are characteristic of all societies, in every place of the world. In Polish society, however, this repeatedly takes place on the authorities-society line though in reality it takes place between social groups.

The best example of this was the strike in Bydgoszcz. In reality that conflict took palce between the residents of that city, who wanted to have relatively cheap municipal transportation and transport employees. The conflict in Nowa Huta is similar though less unequivocal. The workers want to earn more. With the current effectiveness of that enterprise this would call for either increasing subsidies or lower tax burdens. On the whole, the rest of society would be the one to pay for this.

Why is it so difficult to grasp this logics. The 40 years of identifying social property with state property and the central planning of this property, has deprived the real owners of a sense of being its subjects and the awareness that the whole material sphere of the economy belongs to them.

The reform aims to change this state of affairs, to create a new quality of ownership relations. We are, therefore, treading a path of attempts and mistakes. The point, however, is for these attempts to be made on a common basis and the phenomena to be assessed by our society objectively and with the intention of eliminating mistakes not on the principle of negation but as a search for the most rational solutions.

Warsaw Interviews Steelworks Director

LD0305225988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 May 88

[Interview with Lenin steelworks Chief Director Eugeniusz Pustowka by unidentified correspondent in Nowa Huta on 3 May—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] It is 1900. At our microphone is Combine Director Eugeniusz Pustowka. Director, the workforce now knows your appeal.

[Pustowka] I simply wanted to be sure that our workforce knows in its entirety what we want to do, so that it could return to a legal path. A great deal has been done and I wanted to ensure that there was the possibility once again to think one's behavior through in the light of the law and in the light of the situation in our country; and that the situation which could emerge, which life could bring, would be the result of a conscious decision.

[Correspondent] One can infer from this communique that there was contact of some kind between you and the strike committee.

[Pustowka] I was obliged and authorized to hold talks connected with the topics touched on in the letter to Deputy Premier Sadowski; since the topics concerned important matters of the steelworks, on which it was recognized that my knowledge of things and the programs [word indistinct] is full, i was authorized to talk (?on these subjects).

The strike committee appealed to deputy premier Sadowski and I was authorized to talk on these subjects, so I felt obliged to make contact with the strike committee, but the main initiative resulted from the fact of the existence of this letter and I was given the task of conducting talks [words indistinct].

[Correspondent] In a situation where the strike is discontinued, will the talks be continued?

[Pustowka] I think they will not only be continued, they should be continued, because the discontinuation of the strike is a matter of a certain stage in our life, but the problems remain, the atmosphere of the strike. I have allowed myself to become still more profoundl aware of the need for such talks and solutions.

[Correspondent] A certain discussion has sprung up around the combine and its affairs; and this discussion can have creative elements too, after all.

[Pustowka] I share this view. It is important to be able, at a certain moment, to stop an escalation of the atmosphere—maybe I haven't put it very aptly—in any case, the awareness of these issues has grown. The understanding of the need to resolve them has grown and one cannot say that there is a negation of matters. The whole idea is to stop at a certain moment, to understand that this awareness has grown to such an extent that one has to discuss and it's difficult to discuss in an atmosphere [word indistinct] of a strike.

[Correspondent] People in the steelworks have until 0400 to think things through. Are you an optimist?

[Pustowka] I am an optimist by nature. I believe in the people's common sense. I believe a climate has been created for more precise and more effective solutions here in Nowa Huta, and I believe that the actions of our work crews understand that there is a certain limit, which should not be crossed.

[Correspondent] Around midday tomorrow a new, a slightly different, stage—a parallel and difficult stage of arbitration with the trade unions—awaits you.

[Pustowka] I personally would say for myself that a very difficult period awaits me, in which I hope the demands and atmosphere will be in a compromise with the general situation in Poland, certainly, but also (let us not forget), the role of our combine in our economy, which clearly is made apparent against the background of losses arising against a background of interbranch links. And I hope to attempt to assess the role of the combine, its work crews, and its work, to find the role which often finds expression in these or other well-phrased communiques.

The essence of the matter is that one would like—it is imperative to air this issue in an atmosphere of calm but also in an awareness which results from the economic situation.

[Correspondent] You have in all of this a most immediate aim, that is to put out the fire, but is there also a more far-reaching aim?

[Pustowka] The goal, as you put it, of extinguishing the fire, I would describe as the starting position (?in the discussion); and if I were to have to assume that that's where it would end, I would have to be very (?short-sighted) I would simply like to say that the matter can begin with this thing, rationally [word indsitinct].

[Correspondent] As long as it is effective.

[Pustowka] [words indistinct]

Stoppages Continue 'Despite Threats' 4 May

Police Withdrawn From Shipyards

LD0405080088 Hamburg DPA in German 0717 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw/Krakow (DPA)—The strikes at the Nowa Huta steel works and at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk are continuing today despite various threats by the authorities. The enormous police presence which was placed around the Gdansk shipyard last night was withdrawn again in the early hours of the morning. Father Jankowski of the Brigyda church in Gdansk reported that the first shift has gone to the yard but is not working.

The strikers are in the cafeteria building and, according to Father Jankowski, are being supplied with food by the population. They want to negotiate with the management and the authorities. Besides pay rises they are demanding the reinstatement of the banned Solidarity trade union.

At the Nowa Huta steelworks near Krakow the strike by part of the work force continues. The strikers allowed the deadline of 0400 to pass. [passage omitted]

Warsaw Notes Ongoing Shipyard Stoppage

LD0405072088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Despite the appeal by the chief director of the combine and despite the fact that the pay demands of the trade unions were dealt with yesterday evening, the strike action in the Lenin steelworks is continuing. Two sections are still not working.

Attempts to break the strike by the employees which were made several times during the night failed because of the aggressive attitude of the most active participants of the strike.

Church Appears To Undertake Mediation

LD0405094888 Hamburg DPA in German 0922 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The Catholic Church appears to be mediating the strikes in Poland. This morning lawyer Jan Olszewski and Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski travelled to Nowa Huta. In Gdansk Solidarity advisors Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Andrzej Wielowejski, who have close church ties, are expected. They will attempt to mediate an agreement with the Episcopate. The Polish bishops met yesterday in Czechstochowa.

Nowa Huta Strikers Using Violence

LD0405104988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen: We have just received news that the strike is still going on at the Nowa Huta steelworks. Groups of strikers are behaving agressively in the Nowa Huta combine and using violence to prevent workers from starting normal work. One of the crane operators, who brought sheet metal from the rolling plant, had his private car, which was parked in the works parking lot, destroyed. Mid level technical supervisory personnel are being prevented from entering the striking departments. Force was used to eject from the factory hall a journalist from Nowa Huta radio.

The combine's production losses are continuing to increase in an alarming manner, as are the losses of its customers in Poland.

Strikers Trying To Paralyze Shipyard

LD0405105088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] At the Gdansk Shipyard groups of organizers of the illegal strike are conducting intense activity to paralyze the work of the whole shipyard. Gate No. 2 continues to be blocked, and in some sections of the shipyard pickets are calling for strike. Those attempting to start work are subjected to methods of psychological pressure and sometimes physical coercion. An attempt was made to take over the offices of the shipyard management. The organizers of the strike at the Gdansk Shipyard also attempted forceful entry into the Gdansk Overhaul Shipyard, but these activities failed.

Strike 'Serious Threat' to Sales

LD0405110588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] We are now going over to the coast, where we have been able to obtain a statement from (Wlodzimierz Ziolkowski) Gdansk Shipyard press spokesman:

Today those employed here turned up for work and some of them began to work. As was the case yesterday, groups of persons began to intermingle with those who did not work—this was on the territory of the shipyard—and hampered other fellow workers of theirs in beginning to work—and this was done somewhat more forcefully than yesterday.

At about 0900, the director of the shipyard broadcast an appeal to the workforce. He says in it, among other things, that yesterday's calls to the group of workers who violated order and disturbed the shipyard's work to leave the territory of the shipyard went unheeded. He states that this group is a self-appointed one, despite statements which attempt to portray it as representing the entire workforce, for it does no such thing.

The demands and goals set out by this group are almost wholly political and having nothing in common with the workforce's interests. The abnormal situation which has now persisted for 3 days results in significant losses for the enterprise. Should they continue to increase, this may lead to the shipyard going bankrupt—something that has already been mentioned in the communique on the position of the Workers' Council. He appeals to the shipyard's employees to carry out—each and everyone at his work station—their duties conscientiously and not to let themselves be provoked by the realtively small groups which here and there hamper work.

If attempts to restore normal working and output quality control fail to succeed, the enterprise, in view of the lack of sales and the shortage of financial resources, will be insolvent. He appeals to the entire workforce, to those who feel they are shipyard workers, to resoluvely start and continue working in order to prevent the enterprise being declared insolvent.

[announcer] The statement setting out the position of the Workers' Council states, among other things that irrespective of the possible reasons and motives that employees have been guided by, the stoppage by the 11,000 strong workforce, lasting several hours, has already resulted in the loss of production potential amounting to more than 100,000 man-hours. This represents an irreplaceable loss which, in a situation of strict vessel construction deadlines, may represent a serious threat to the sales plan for the first half of the year which, even without these troubles, was considerably less than the shipyard's financial and payments requirements.

Stalowa Wola Strike Reportedly Ends

AU0405114088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 May 88 p 5

[PAP report: "The Protest Action at Stalowa Wola Is Finished"]

[Text] On 30 April, between 1300 and 1345, the group of employees taking part in the protest action at the Stalowa Wola steelworks since 29 April left the premises of the steelworks.

In view of the illegal nature of the action, the combine's management did not hold any negotiations with the strikers.

In pursuance of an earlier stance taken by the management, no wages payable during the period of the strike will be paid to those who took part in it.

The steelworks' press spokesman said that for many weeks, talks had taken place between the Independent and Self-Managing Union of Stalowa Wola Steelworks Employees on the one hand and the Workers' Council and steelworks management on the other, on the subject

of economic matters. These talks ended on a positive note and in accordance with the principles of the second stage of the economic reform.

The firm majority of the steelworks employees has understood the economic and pay conditions in the Stalowa Wola Steelworks.

Rail Car Workers Rally Reported

LD0405114288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] In this bulletin we have also made use of the materials published by Wroclaw press:

[Unidentified voice] A rally in which some 405 people took part was organized at the W2 section of the Wroclaw Pafawag [State Railway Wagons Plant] at approximately 1000 yesterday. Some 2700 people work the plant's first shift. Those taking part in the rally wanted, among other things, support for the Nowa Huta strikers, Z20,000 wage rises for all Pafawag employees, compensation for the present results of the price rises on all goods and services, and working conditions to be safeguarded through stable supplies of materials irrespective of hard currency restrictions. The postulates were tabled at 1245 and those taking part in the rally commenced work.

In today's GAZETA ROBOTNICZA SZYMANSKI, an article entitled "Rally Logic" attempts to find this logic in the actions of those taking part in the rally. This logic is, however, rather perverse. This is borne out, to take but one example, by the fact that on the onad hand the Pafawag workers deem it essential to lend their support to the Nowa Huta strikers but, on the other hand, they demand that materials needed for production should be safeguarded. But it is none other than Nowa Huta that makes them.

In all probability, each of the rally participants would, on his own, be able to see this contradiction straight away, just as he would prefer not to take cognizance of the fact that currency restrictions are in force. However, they do exist, will remain and will continue to be a thorn in our side for a long time yet.

Everything, however, is possible at a rally. A rally has laws and logic all of its own. The same people who write in their leaflets about our country's radical economic reform make use of these facts. What, then, is this reform supposed to be like where prices and wages are concerned?

If the reform is to be of the kind prescribed by the International Monetary Fund, we should, surely, give up conversations about wage rises? Thus, it is a peculiar logic to demand radical reforms and to organize collective actions against them at the same time.

However, the organizers of these kinds of actions are not concerned with logic, cohesion and consistency but, rather, with having irrational reflexes clash with rational thinking.

The author of the article, Tomasz Szymanski, concludes: The choice is probably simple: either rational thinking will gain the upper hand, or else we will be in chaos right up to our ears. This really means that there is no choice.

Solidarity Leader Arrested at Airport

LD0405115088 Hamburg DPA in German 1115 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Kornel Morawiecki, head of the Polish underground organization "Fighting Solidarity," was arrested today on arrival at Warsaw Airport. He had left Poland at the end of last week after mediation by the episcopate, and travelled to Rome for medical treatment. At that time he was taken directly from prison to the airport. He stated in Rome that he wanted to return to Warsaw because of the latest situation in Poland. Morawiecki tried yesterday to fly from Rome to Poland. The Polish airline LOT would not take him because of an alleged lack of space. He then flew via Frankfurt with Lufthansa. When the plane landed in Warsaw, it was parked so the exiting passengers could not be seen. The airport's viewing terrace was blocked off. Morawiecki's family members could not see him as he was led from the plane by security officials.

Transportation Talks Reach Accord

AU0405120688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 May 88 p 5

[PAP report: "An Agreement With The Transportation Employees"]

[Text] The talks that continued on 30 April between the Federation of Trade Unions of Municipal Transportation Employees on the one hand and representatives of the Ministry of Transport, Shipping, and Communications; Ministry of Finance; and Ministry of Labor and Social Policy on the other hand, have led to an agreement. Thus, the dispute started by the Federation has ended. We read in the communique that the parties agreed to exclude some wage elements of an incentive nature, exclusive to the municipal transportation and being the result of economies concerning repairs and personnel, from the tax that is payable for supernumerary wages. These are emergency solutions, but work has started on a new economic-financial system for the municipal transportation. Following essential agreement and the adoption of a stance by the Federation of Trade Unions of Municipal Transportation Employees, this system will come into effect on 1 January 1989.

After the conclusion of the agreement, Franciszek Adam Wieladek, deputy minister of transportation, shipping, and communications, issued the following statement to a

PAP journalist: During the talks we considered emergency solutions and mechanisms designed to prevent future conflicts. During a hard, masculine discussion, these solutions were found. Taking the nature of the municipal transportation into account, all legal possibilities of improving the wages situation today were used. The conditions for working out the new system were also prepared.

Wieslaw Gicel, chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Municipal Transportation Employees, said the following: On behalf of the Federation, I wish to express satisfaction, even though the agreement does not provide as much as the workforces expected. However, it will be possible to bring wages in municipal transportation closer to wages in industry. Further postulates may be implemented during the work on the new system.

PAP: Wroclaw Factory Work Normal

LD0405123788 Warsaw PAP in English 1140 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Wroclaw, May 4—This morning the director of the Wroclaw-based "Pafawag" train wagon factory, Edward Blaszczyk, said that normal work is going on in his factory.

He added, however, that a joint meeting of the workers council with the management, trade unions and social and political organizations started at 10:00 hrs a.m. with a view to reviewing pay postulates put forward during yesterday's rally.

Rudna Miners Attempt Illegal Strike

LD0405131588 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] An attempt was made yesterday at the western shaft of the Rudna mining enterprise [Lubin copper basin] to organize an illegal strike. As a result of the actions taken by the management demands were submitted to the trade union board and will be examined in accordance with the law. A 50-strong group of strikers started work immediately thereafter.

PAP: Poles See Adverse Effects

LD0405135988 Warsaw PAP in English 1258 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 4—On May 2d, the public opinion polling centre, polled a representative group of Warsaw citizens about their opinion on strikes.

Fifty percent of the respondents replied that strikes were unjustified while 34 percent held a contrary opinion. The rest, that is 16 percent, did not have an opinion on the issue.

Replying to a question if the strikes would spread on a mass scale, fifty-six percent of those polled said "no", 26 percent replied "yes" while 18 percent did not have any opinion.

Sixty-one percent of those polled said that strikes would lead to a drop of the standard of living, while 15 percent replied that they would contribute to its improvement.

The poll has shown then that a majority of Poles are aware of the adverse consequences of strikes.

Council of Ministers 25 Apr Session Reported

AU0205134988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 88 p 7

[Text] PAP—The government press bureau reports that the Council of Ministers was in session on 25 April.

The government adopted a report on progress in drawing up the law on economic activities.

This law will be one of those basic legal documents of the second stage of the economic reform that are of fundamental significance for drawing upon collective and individual militancy and enterprise, and for creating conditions to develop economic initiative. The bill was initially examined by the Council of Ministers Committee for Realizing the Economic Reform, and this examination took place a month ahead of the schedule stipulated by the implementation program for the second stage.

Under present legal conditions, the development of economic initiatives is made difficult by the extensive legal possibilities of restricting and administering economic activities, and by the complicated procedures of obtaining permits. The law's basic goal will be to abolish these barriers by introducing general principles in line with which economic activities can be undertaken:

—The principle of so-called economic freedom; which means that whoever is able to stick to legal conditions will be allowed to engage in economic activities;

—The principle of the equality of all forms of property; which means that uniform legal requirements will be created, as well as rules by which economic activities are recorded. As the only exception, the law might restrict to 50 the number of employees in one shift operated by private-sector enterprises. But this number could be increased in economically justified cases. The principle "what is not forbidden be law is allowed" will be incorporated in the proposed law, which will clearly define the areas of economic activity covered by legal restrictions. There will be freedom of economic activity outside of those areas.

In line with the bill in question, engaging in economic activity will be made dependent only on announcing an intention to carry out such activity, and on making the

necessary entry in the records. It will not be necessary to state the desirability of this activity. Any refusal by local administrative bodies—urban, gmina, and precinct offices—to record the intention to engage in economic activity and to grant permits for it in cases where such permits are legally required, can be appealed in the Supreme Administrative Court, in line with the procedure laid down by the Administrative Code. Administrative bodies and not economic units will be responsible for establishing whether those who intend to engage in economic activities requiring the fulfillment of special hygienic requirements, protection of the natural environment, and so on, are able to guarantee such fulfillment.

The bill will provide opportunities for economic units to associate on a completely voluntary basis as combines, cooperatives, guilds, and any other organizations, including so-called economic chambers.

As for so-called extra economic activities conducted by individual persons (small repairs and services, for example), it would not be necessary to register them, but they would be subject to taxation as is now the case.

The adoption of this bill will necessitate the abolition or modification of about 100 legal enactments (including over 30 laws) that contradict the general principles by which economic activities can be undertaken in accordance with the bill in question.

The Council of Ministers passed a resolution on realizing the program for the construction of freeways and expressways [drogi ekspresowe]. The dynamic development of automobile traffic—the sixfold increase in motor vehicles in Poland in the past 15 years and the ever increasing transit traffic—has been responsible for a rapid growth in the density of vehicles on the roads. The development of industry and progressive urbanization are responsible for the fact that 70 percent of road traffic uses the main thoroughfares, which account for about 25 percent of our road network. As a result, even in 1985 there was too much traffic on over 1,000km of main highways. Users had to face greater dangers, and gas consumption went up.

To counter this, 112km of freeways will be built and 3,000km of roads will be modernized and expanded by 1990. Among other things, we will build sections of the A-1 international north-to-south freeway near Piotrkow Trybunalski and Cieszyn, a section of the A-2 freeway near Konin, and a section of the A-4 freeway near Opole.

In line with the realization program for the second stage of the economic reform, the Council of Ministers adopted a decree on creating conditions for increasing the shift intensity in industry. Proposed solutions will create economic priorities for economic units in which there is continuous production in three or four shifts.

The Council of Ministers passed the resolution to adapt the wage fund to a slightly higher increase in retail prices than stipulated by the Central Annual Plan. Among other things, this measure will make it easier for enterprises to pay tax-free cash equivalents for the so-called free coal allocations adjusted to retail price hikes for coal.

Urban, Sekula Hold Press Conference 29 Apr

LD291719 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 29 Apr 88

['Report' on press conference in Warsaw by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban and Labor and Welfare Policy Minister Ireneusz Sekula on 29 April—live or recorded]

[Text] [Urban] One of the foreign correspondents asked me over the phone today whether I didn't consider that what is going on in Poland heralds the beginning of the end of the team which has been directing the country for the last few years. I do not consider that to be the most important question which should be asked today. The important questions are: What is going to happen in Poland? Is an economic and political crisis starting again in Poland? Are we starting to regress again? Are we starting another struggle for internal demands? Is the development of the country under question again? Finally, the question arises as to whether those disturbances which have arisen are not advantageous to those who are opposed to all kinds reforms, who consider that they ruffle the good order of things, those who say quite simply, you see, the path of reform does not have any support; it has not got a chance; it does not have social conditions to develop effectively.

I do not think the situation today in Poland is dramatic, but I do not deny that those strikes which are taking place, the strike in the Lenin steelworks and the threat of other strikes including that of Stalowa Wola, in a defense industry plant, are not at this moment a certain blow to the economic reform and the whole policy of democratization, understanding, and openess. Why? In the Lenin steelworks for example, demands have appeared to raise everyone's pay in Poland by 50 percent. Well, everyone would like to earn 50 percent more but if the government were to accept this condition and in a celebratory manner, as used to happen under spotlights and in front of the television cameras—if they were to sign that kind of agreement to end the strike, then it would either be necessary to additionally raise prices by 50 percent in Poland or to go for galloping inflation—but that would cause strikes and protests. Or the government would have to print money without any cover or value, and ration everything. That would signify the end of the reform, the end of opening up the economy based on the market and incentives for work.

I am speaking about one of these demands as an example, to be able to illustrate the truth that today it is not possible to act as we did in the past, quite simply giving way to strike demands, to demands for increased pay

above an amount which is economically justified and possible for the economic management of an enterprise. The dilemma of the present time is this: What will happen to Poland in the immediate future? This depends on whether the public will support the strike protests and demands, and the strike threats, or whether it doesn't. Whether, it will stop at the opening of a new crisis, on a wave of strikes, on the undercutting of the incentives of production, the bases of life, entering into a new stage of struggle and chaos, or whether it doesn't. I believe that the public, in spite of the entire potential for dissatisfaction with the condtions of life, work, and pay, will in effect not support the path of transforming Poland into a country of ceaseless crises following one after the other, which do not permit any kind of development.

The state and the political authorities consider it their duty to maintain, strengthen, save from disturbances the path of reform and democratization, that is, the development of joint decision-making by the public, an example of which was the referendum. The alternative to that kind of line, which we are gradually, consistently, cautiously setting up and developing, would be arbitrariness, some special kind of accountancy. I do not anticipate that such things will be necessary.

I would now like to pass the time over to Minister Sekula [minister of labor and social welfare], who will talk more cheerfully about the elements of the situation.

[Sekula] The Council of Ministers met on Monday; on Tuesday, the party Central Committee Politburo carried out a comprehensive, very penetrating assessment of the socioeconomic situation after the end of the first quarter of 1988. In view of the qualitatively new elements which have occurred this week—Minister Urban spoke about them: the strike in Bydgoszcz on Monday; strike in some sections of the Lenin steelworks, which has been on since Tuesday; the attempt today to organize a strike at the Stalowa Wola steelworks—these require our attention to be focussed on certain elements which are the essence of this assessment; and I would like to present them as follows:

First, a specific characteristic of this first quarter of 1988 is the unusual variety of phenomena which have occurred and the different directive tendencies of the processes which (?occurred) there. One cannot sum up these phenomena or put them in any sort of order. They are of a qualitatively different character and do not lend themselves to any simple synthesization. Here they are:

We noted a very good, high rate of increase of production and of exports. On the other hand, we are aware that of course the mild winter had something to do with those good results. Only some elements can be precisely measured; others cannot. The question is: Is this a permanent phenomenon, a permanent trend, or will the effects of the mild winter fade out after a time?

In turn, a negative element of this assessment is the insufficient supply of goods to the market. Here, the assumptions of the Central Annual Plan have not been fulfilled in many indices. An important element of assessment of the first quarter was the beginning of the big prices and incomes operation, [word indistinct] from 1 February; the cushioning measures [dzialania oslonicwe], both in the sphere of old-age and disability pensions and in the sphere of employees. And I would like to stress clearly here that the overall assessment of the documentation kept by the Main Statistical Office show that this increase occurred within the limits assumed in the plan, that is, about 45 percent and if one deducts alcohol and [word indistinct] about 36 percent. The increase in wages and social benefits occurred on a greater scale. This is the objective truth. This state of affairs, of course, causes a worsening of market imbalance.

But one should also not fail to notice that the feeling of citizens, consumers, in many cases is divergent from this general evaluation. Why? Because the citizen makes an evaluation of price rises through the prism of his own shopping. Of course, he notices the highest increases; he relates them to frequent purchases, even if the particular article is bought only rarely. Naturally, he does not carry on those sort of calculations that are carried on by the Main Statistical Office, for instance: a price increased from 1 April, that is, e months into the year, has its effect only on three-quarters of the year and not on the whole year.

But as I say, these are elements for precise, penetrating, and deep analysis. On the other hand, in spontaneous perception, autopsy as it were, there arises among many people the impression that prices are growing quickly, significantly; that they will grow; that their growth is out of proportion in relation to the growth of the income of precisely that citizen. Furthermore, the news gets through to him that in other work enterprises, not his own, wage increases were significantly higher. An element of this variety of which I spoke is, indeed, the situation that many enterprises maintained the rise in wages at around 30 percent, but there are enterprises that gave an increase twice as much—of the order of 60-70 percent.

Naturally, this kind of increase resounds immediately with a wide echo and among those who work in enterprises where these increases were smaller gives rise to the impression of some delay, some kind of failure to keep up, depreciation. It calls forth in contrast the motive to make efforts to improve this economic situation, to exploit this increase differently. As if from old habits such a postulate is directed either directly by the workers or else by the sections of the trade union movement to the center.

Meanwhile, and the example of Bydgoszcz demonstrated this very eloquently, we now have a completely different situation. Many elements of the economic reform have

been introduced, many are in the course of introduction in the framework of the second stage. One of the basic elements is the fact that the center is not in a position to, cannot—and this is right at the heart of the economic reform, a systemic solution—give or pass on or grant to independent and self-financing enterprises any financial resources.

The financial means, means for specific wages, can come from three, and only three, sources. The first source is in an increase of the manufacturing output and the number of services provided and in thus obtaining greater profits of which a certain part can be allocated for a rise in wages.

The second source—they are, of course, not alternatives of one another or in competition with one another—is in a reduction of costs, economizing, rationalization of employment. As you know, ladies and gentlemen, the Polish economy is very raw material and energy intensive. For one unit of nationa income we use, in comparison with the developed countries of the world, twice or more than twice, in fact, of all manufacturing components: coal, energy, crude oil, cement, steel, man-hours, etc. So there is scope for savings.

And the third source is an increase in prices. Manufacturing output would be the same but at a much higher price. As a result, of course, there would be larger profits. I would also like to remind you, that in the second stage of the economic reform a mechanism was adopted for the first time according to which the means for wages would not be limited. This is another conscious step in the implementation of the reform. Enterprises are duty-bound to pay a tax on paying-out above-the norm wages, if they exceed a certain level of wage increases, according to the individual or the threshold formula. And if they have sufficiently high profits, if they have sufficient means, having paid this tax, they can increase wages by as much as they independently decide. The central authorities cannot interfere in this mechanism. As I have already said, this was anticipated from the beginning.

The party and state leadership took such a possibility into consideration—this is in a way a price of the implementation of the reform—that disproportions may arise and that enterprises may emerge in a good economic condition which would afford such high wage rises, and that there may be quite a few enterprises in a difficult situation, often for no fault of their own, with fewer financial means and which could not manage to include within this threshold the allowances to which employees are entitled. These allownace, as you know, are a part of wages. If the amount of wage rises and the allowances exceeds the threshold it results in the necessity to pay the tax. In this connection, the measure, which was adopted many times in the past, of negotiations in response to subsequent pay demands: going half-way to meet those demands, to a lesser or greater extent—of course, not to such an extent as that mentioned by Minister Urban which led to this situation, to full (?disarray) of the market, to an enormous rate of inflation, but [words indistinct] a small enterprise, (?which I took as an example) is not in a position, without taxation, to implement the allowances due to its employees; in connection with this, raising the tax threshold for those enterprises should be considered.

But if one were to take a selective, indivudual approach, to talk to every enterprise in turn, which means of course an enormous number of talks and negotiations, the impression that a change in the tax threshold can be obtained by those who go on strike...the government does not want to take this road. Carrying out the instructions contained in the resolution taken by the Politburo on Tuesday, intensive work is going on and in the course of the next few days it will be completed, (?work) on a comprehensive solution concerning the whole economy, so as to avoid the situation where there is a selective improvement in the situation in one enterprise, which causes, of course, a whole avalance of claims in others. This will be a solution (?based) on the system conditions of the second stage of the economic reform. And therefore: the means must be earned by the enterprise, managing them by their own independent decisions; and so to the extent to which it is possible, the center, the minister of finance, will try to create somewhat more favorable conditions for this, but only the conditions—the management of the means lies (?in the hands) of the enterprises.

I apologize for this perhaps over-long explanation.

But I would now like to refer in particular to the strike that is going on at the moment in the Lenin steelworks. Those postulates that have an economic character and which, after analysis, can be recognized as justified will be taken up, will be included in that comprehensive solution that will be addressed to the whole economy. And after that has been applied the economic aspect of this strike should disappear. The strike will not then have this economic basis.

If, on the other hand, there are—and it is clear that they are appearing—activities inspired by hostile forces, other reasons, extrasubstantive, extraeconomic, then it is obvious that this then changes completely the qualitative situation of this country. And I also want to say at this moment that in Poland, in the framework of the democratization of our life and our legislation, legislative procedures for the carrying on of collective disputes have been accepted. The last step of this procedure, the last resort, is the strike. But the last resort is, if I can put it this way, the worst of all possible tools for it brings economic losses and introduces conflict into a very severe phase. A strike should be preceded by a long list of other actions which are to serve the discharging of the conflict, the disagreement, along the road of negotiation. And certain federations are carrying on talks of this type with the founding bodies, precisely according to this legal procedure. The Federation of Transport Enterprises is doing this. The Federation of Energy Workers is

carrying on talks with the minister of industry. Meanwhile, both the Bydgoszcz strike in its initial phase and from the beginning of the strike at the Lenin steelworks and also that attempt at the Stalowa Wola steelworks, do not observe this procedure. They begin, so to speak, from the last stage and this is obviously illegal. That is why I am mentioning this, because it is also an element of the qualitative assessment of the situation.

I want to end my comments as follows: Awareness of the dangers, troubles, and problems linked above all with the uneven development of the Polish economy and the lack of harmony and the vital need to reform its (?course), to [word indistinct] is a little reminiscent of the situation of a man who has to wind his watch and set it at the same time. To do both these things at the same time is, of course, very difficult, very complicated and troublesome, containing the many (?factors) of which I spoke. The party and state leadership was aware of this from the beginning. Party Central Committee First Secretary Comrade General Jaruzelski, in his speech to the ZSL congress expressed this clearly. He announced the possibility of the government seeking extraordinary full powers if the situation requires it. The assessment of the first quarter, indicating all those phenomena about which I have spoken, do not justify this kind of decision at the present moment; so, no such proposal (wniosek) has (?been made). On the other hand, the situation this week contains these new elements about which I spoke and if they threaten to throw the economy out of order, to cause inflationary (?disorders), if there is an uncontrolled movement of wages incommensurate with the movement of prices, then, of course, the government has the duty to prevent such phenomena and has the appropriate authorization from the Politburo to do so.

On the other hand, the road to harmonizing the economy, to avoiding those differentiations, should (?be) above all collective work agreements. As you know, a government submission has been proposed to the Sejm. I had the honor, (?called by) the premier, to present it to the citizen deputies [word indistinct] If the Sejm passes this act, it will create the possibility of harmonizing the existing factory wage systems with [word indistinct] collective work agreements concluded, which should lead to a lessening and maybe even elimination of the unjustified disproportions which evoke those reactions and this feeling which I mentioned at the beginning. [words indistinct]

[Urban] In Stalowa Wola the situation is as follows: There was a meeting today. After the meeting, its organizers called for a return to work, but (?because of) the strike, the management of Stalowa Wola will dismiss the strikers in accordance with the law as this a defense enterprise. And though it resounded clearly from what Minister Sekula said, over the coming days the government will undertake measures of a general nature intended to change the economic basis of the situation. At this moment it is difficult for us to specify this more closely, for these conceptions are being prepared, but I wish to clearly signal this.

'Transcript' of Urban 26 Apr Press Conference

AU301917 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Apr 88 pp 1, 7

[Transcript of press conference given to Polish and foreign journalists by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the Interpress Center in Warsaw on 26 April]

[Text] Urban: Radio Free Europe continues to attack with unabated fury our cleanup campaign called "Order" and to maliciously claim that it is the militia and not the reform that is to repair our economy. On the evening of 23 April, Radio Free Europe broadcast: "This campaign is a kind of truncheon, and the point is to make us feel terrorized and frightened to move about, to contact each other, and to work." This station also claims that the fact that our economy is to be repaired by inspecting patrols and not by economic mechanisms is proof that the reform has failed.

In view of this hysterical counterpropaganda and of some doubts that also exist in our country, let me give some explanations. The cleanup campaign "Order" is not a militia campaign. It is being run by Czeslaw Kiszczak as chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Law Observance, Public Order, and Social Discipline. The campaign is directed against negligence and not citizens. As for our citizens, let me frankly state that we do not want to harass them with control checks. What we want to do is to reduce their frustration that is caused by the innumerable cases of visible negligence and chaos. We want to make people's lives easier.

The campaign shores up the reform; it is not a substitute for the reform. Citizens expect the authorities to take immediate action against chaos and waste and to eliminate at once those harassments that can be eliminated without the reform. The campaign "Order" meets these justified public expectations.

If all the people in our country properly fulfilled their duties—if janitors kept their areas clean, if factory managements took full care of factory assets, if firemen were careful enough to watch out for fires, and if no one dumped garbage in our forests—the campaign "Order" would be not needed. If the authorities failed to tighten up discipline, our citizens would be right in criticizing us for indolence and for closing eyes to negligence. That we want to put in order whatever can and should be put in order is not an attack against the reform and does not weaken one's faith in it. "Order" is certainly not a magic wand, but we hope that it will reduce a little the dirt, chaos, waste, and harassment in our daily lives. We hope there will be fewer of all these things instead of more, and this is already something. Finally, this campaign is not a militia campaign. It is a campaign that rallies many institutions, including control institutions and many

social, trade union, women's, consumer, and other organizations. Today the press published the telephone numbers of the authorities that every citizen can inform about dirt, waste, dereliction, and whatever makes life difficult, and ask for immediate action by the proper authorities.

The press is right in complaining that its many reports continue to be ignored. However, now inspecting patrols will investigate whatever the press reports and will take with them the journalists who write such reports. Citizens expect the authorities to be effective, militant, and resolute. The campaign "Order" is an emergency response to these expectations.

The security service has decoded the correspondence between Solidarity's illegal structures in Poland and their representives abroad. Money and not ideas is the subject of the talks between the country and those abroad. As everyone knows, streams of dollars continue to flow into Poland, but many of them get lost and disappear. In 1984 Jerzy Milewski, head of the Brussels Bureau of Solidarity and chief representative of this organization abroad, sent in $50,000 to set up a Polonia private profit-making firm in Poland. This money was embezzled an dishonest partner, and legal proceedings are continuing in Great Britain to this day to recover the money. Milewski sent in another $50,000 of Solidarity's money and the firm in question was set up in 1985-86. The proper Polish authorities continue to show their interest in this firm's performance. The money invested by Milewski belongs to the funds that U.S. Congress allots annually to the U.S. National Foundation To Further Democracy.

The domestic leadership of the National Executive Committee is trying to have Milewski removed, because he is not obedient enough and is too independent. In particular, the committee is unable to control the money administered by Milewski. In response, he continues to bombard Zbigniew Bujak, Bogdan Lis, and Borusewicz with letters (which are decoded by computers).

He continues to ask for information about the fate of the over $70,000 which were sent to Poland and which have disappeared, but for which he has received no receipts. The thing is that those who supplied this money to Milewski keep asking him to account to them by receipts, and he keeps threatening his partners in Poland that no more money will be sent to them unless he receives receipts that account for the money that has disappeared somewhere in Poland. You can peruse the letters we have decoded.

I raise this issue because 19 receipts are lacking. In the meantime, the computer diskettes containing Milewski's appeals to account for the money in question have been intercepted by the security service. However, this circumstance should not make it easy for Solidarity activists to appropriate money and to fail to provide receipts for tens of thousands of dollars, which enables them to live without doing any work.

The security service does not wish to support dishonesty, and that is why I back Mr Milewski in his demands that the former Solidarity leaders account for the money he sends them.

Renate Mersch, DPA: Mr Minister, there was a strike yesterday in the Bydgoszcz City Transportation Enterprise. What is the government to do to if other enterprises follow in Bydgoszcz's foopsteps and demand wage raises?

Urban: The government has always been aware of the fact that wage problems will create tensions, but the thing is that wage demands should be made in the form provided for by the law and should be consistent with economic rules. The reform has defined the independence of enterprises and wage policy. The only circumstance that limits this independence is the scale of income taxation on wages. Yesterday's dispute in Bydgoszcz, which still exists with negotiations underway to settle it, although normal work has already been resumed, poses the question of how to finance additional wages. That is why it is possible that either public transportation fares in Bydgoszcz will have to be raised or the funds provided by the local budget for various purposes will have to be switched to finance wage increases. Talks with the national federation of transportation workers began at an earlier date and are continuing. The matter has also been taken up by the OPZZ.

Mati Hoviseppe, KANSAN UNTISET, Finland: Has the social educational association been able to register? It is an association that plans to run private schools in Poland.

Urban: The Social Educational Society was not registered on its first application and has appealed to the minister of internal affairs. The decision will be made on 23 May. Some doubts are attached to this issue, because private schools would charge fees, and this is against the legal principle that education in Poland is free. Discrimination of young people on the basis of the wealth of their parents raises moral doubts, because it attacks the principles of social justice, especially the principle of everyone having an equal start. These crucial doubts are being examined.

Janusz Grochowski, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI: Mr Minister, rumors are circulating that two journalists from Radio Free Europe have returned to Poland. Is this true?

Urban: Mr Andrzej Gontarczyk and his wife Jolanta, who was an announcer at that station, have returned to Poland. The Gontarczyks were also members of the emigre political structures in the West and had links with

the so-called London [Polish] Government and with Fighting Solidarity. I said at one time that some Radio Free Europe staffers continued to maintain confidential contacts with the Polish authorities and to sound out possibilities for returning to Poland. I think that the Gontarczyks' return to Poland is but a beginning. We extend our invitation to everyone.

In this connection I wish to state the the Polish authorities take the view that it is possible for Radio Free Europe employees to visit Poland as tourists. Let them compare the image of the country as they present it in their radio programs, which so often blacken our country, with the reality of our life and with the true conditions in Poland.

By the way, here is an interesting detail concerning the internal affairs of the editorial board responsible for Radio Free Europe's Polish broadcasts. The director of the Polish section, Marek Latynski, returned from a 14-day vacation to find that, during a daily meeting with journalists, he was asked by the section how it was possible that the radio station could have allowed itself to be so compromised by hiring Mieczyslaw Gorski without finding out what sort of man he was and, as a result, Gorski's criminal past was first revealed by Government Spokesman Urban at a press conference in Warsaw. Latynski retorted that he was innocent, because Mr Gorski was hired on the personal recommendation of the director of the radio station, Wierzynski, and Mr Wierzynski bore full responsibility for this.

This misunderstanding in the Polish section makes me want to say two things.

First, Radio Free Europe did not issue a single word of comment about this or other charges that I have made publicly. This radio station, which boasts about telling the truth, keeps silent about matters that it and its superiors find uncomfortable.

Second, the fact that Radio Free Europe's Mieczyslaw Gorski has two prison sentences for common crimes behind him and that he spent time in prison in Poland is only part of the unpleasant truth about him—that part that I told you about. If the appropriate Polish agencies wanted to exploit what they know about Mieczyslaw Gorski to exert pressure on him in exchange for keeping quiet about who he is, they could obtain for themselves another informant in Radio Free Europe. What is more, Gorski would be able to use Radio Free Europe's microphones to say whatever we here in Warsaw wanted to tell him to say. Fortunately for Radio Free Europe, the appropriate Polish agencies are not inclined to establish even secret ties with people of such a worthless character.

Leonid Toporkov, IZVESTIYA: Mr Minister, we know that the Polish primate, Cardinal Glemp, will visit the Soviet Union in connection with celebrations to mark the 1000th anniversary of Russia. What can you tell us about this?

Urban: The Polish primate is going to attend celebrations to mark the 1000th anniversary of Russia's baptism. So, the trip is being made for historical and religious reasons, and the invitation has been extended by the Russian Orthodox Church.

On the other hand, however, this is the first time that the head of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland will pay a visit to the Soviet Union. Thus, it is significant. The Polish authorities welcomed the invitation that the primate received from the USSR and the announcement that Cardinal Glemp would accept the invitation. That the invitation was extended is evidence of the far-reaching changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union and of a broader view of Poland's internal relations. The first manifestation of this was the publication of an interview with the primate by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. I think that the invitation is an expression of recognition of the fact that the Catholic Church in today's Poland is a significant element contributing to the shaping of relations in our country and an influential force in Polish society.

Just as the invitation to Cardinal Glemp is a manifestation of Soviet realism in its policies toward a country with which it has very close ties, the acceptance of the invitation is an expression of realism on the part of church officials in Poland as well as of the disappearance of prejudices and of a growing feeling of responsibility for vital national interests.

To conclude, it ought to be stressed that the Soviet Union is pursuing an important peace offensive and that the Catholic Church in general, including the Polish church, has an important moral role to play as a force that can exert pressure against the threat of war.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE: Does the law on universal military service cover civil defense exercises in which factory yards have to be swept, as was the case at the Warsaw steelworks last week. Is it consistent with the law that if one does not take part in one of these "Tidiness" operations one has to pay a fine of Z50,000 or spend 3 months in prison?

Urban: I am not going to reply. I cannot reply to questions that are aimed at making the Polish Government spokesman interpret events that have taken place at some workplace as they have been described by a journalist. I can, however, say in general that this is in keeping with the law and, more importantly, in keeping with the tradition and mission of the Polish Armed Forces, that is, taking part in the most varied forms of work of use to society and the economy and assisting useful operations of various kinds: cleaning, harvest work, land reclamation, providing help in various dangerous situations, reloading work, and so on. Thus, I think that every form of socially useful work brings credit to the armed forces and that there is no kind of work that would somehow be insulting to military dignity.

There are no penalties for not taking part in social operations. However, there are penalties for various misdemeanors concerning order. For example, a custodian who fails to keep a place clean can be fined, and someone who is guilty of more serious neglect, and this is also in accordance with the law, may be punished. Ah, I understand. It is a question of whether one can be punished for failing to take part in civil defense exercises. That is provided for by the law.

John Daniszewski, AP: Mr Minister, last Friday Deputy Premier Sadowski said that prices have risen by an average of 42 percent this year, whereas wages in Poland have risen by an average of 45 percent. I would like to know whether the government considers this fact alarming or will it incline the government to give Deputy Premier Sadowski special plenipotentiary economic powers?

Urban: Today's papers carry a communique on a meeting of the government, and one can learn from the communique that yesterday the government considered the disproportion between the increase in wages and the increase in prices disadvantageous, because it cannot be covered by increased output. It is also disadvantageous because the increase in wages means that plants have to raise prices to obtain resources for wages, and the increase in prices creates pressure for higher wages. In a word, such phenomena always encourage inflation. The scale of this disproportion is not alarming, and one can hope that it will disappear over the course of the year. However, the very fact that there is an excessive flow of money for wages is alarming because it gives rise to the corresponding economic countermeasures. The question of special plenipotentiary powers for Deputy Premier Sadowski will be considered in the near future. At the present time, the government is analyzing performance results for the first quarter and that is the first factor in deciding about special powers. The second factor concerns forecasts for the next quarter, that is, forecasts concerning the economic trends that lie ahead of us. Thus, one can expect a decision to be made shortly about whether the government will or will not submit a request to the Sejm for special powers.

Renate Marsch, DPA: Mr Minister, the communique issued by the Main Office of Statistics together with what Deputy Premier Sadowski said indicate that people have more money than the amount by which prices have risen. However, the calculations made by housewives contradict this. Thus, when can we finally expect the "basket" of goods and services, on the basis of which the growth in prices is calculated, to be published?

Urban: I do not think that an experienced journalist from a country where people know how to count and where statistics are not something that have just appeared would fail to see a difference between figures concerning wages and prices on a national scale and the perceptions of individual housewives, or the form that individual household budgets take. This kind of budget can be completely different, and is, in general, completely different from the overall picture, and people's perceptions are completely different from the character of their household budgets. Information on household budgets is published, although there is some delay, and is available in, among others, statistical yearbooks. However, the price changes that were discussed were not based on price changes in the "basket" of goods and services, that is, not just solely on changes in the prices of basic commodities, but on a listing of all price changes. That is to say, if one says that prices have risen by 42 percent, this does not apply to the "basket," that is, to the prices of basic commodities, but to all price changes in Poland.

Michal Broniatowski, REUTER: I have several questions, each of them on a different topic. Would you care to comment on yesterday's verdict against Demjanjuk by the Israeli court?

Urban: Allow me to answer each question in turn. That way, I will not tire myself by making notes, and the radio and television will find it easier to do their editing.

I see no reason why I should comment on the verdict against Demjanjuk because Poland's stance toward Hitlerite atrocities and Hitlerite criminals is so obvious that there is no reason for the Polish Government to comment on every fair verdict. Instead, we comment on phenomena like injustice and haste in investigating Hitlerite atrocities.

Michal Broniatowski: My next question is: The Main Statistical Office reported that average wages had increased by 46 percent, but omitted to mention the amount of these wages. Am I right in saying that the average wage right now is about Z44,000 per month?

Urban: I too only have in front of me the data contained in the Main Statistical Office communique. Right now I simply cannot determine whether your figure is correct. I do not remember the figure given in the communique. If your calculations are correct, your figure should also be correct. But I am no math teacher.

Michal Broniatowski: Finally, the word "convention" has appeared lately during talks on the subject of Polish-Vatican relations. The word appeared for the first time in the Politburo communique, and Archbishop Stroba has also mentioned it. Could you explain the difference between this new word and previous terminology, in other words diplomatic relations? There was also talk of the church's legal status, and it was said that there would be no concordat. Could you explain all this?

Urban: "Convention" is a synonym for "agreement," so it is different from a concordat. Talks are continuing on this subject. A state-church working team is beginning a 2-day meeting today. It will deal with preparations for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, as well as preparing the draft convention and a bill

on the church's legal status. This convention will regulate Polish-Vatican relations and will provide a basis from which to raise them to a higher level, whereas the bill on the church's legal status is a Polish domestic legal instrument, a Sejm act, on which work is proceeding in concert with the relevant institution, in other words, the church itself.

Giulio Gelibter, ANSA: Yesterday, the main television news said that the strike in Bydgoszcz had been declared before all possibilities of a legal settlement of the dispute had been exhausted, as a result of which it is possible that the strike organizers will have to answer for their actions. Later, however, the voivoda of Bydgoszcz said that no one would have to answer for the strike because it had been agreed with the workers that no one would. Could you comment?

Urban: I know nothing about the television news frightening people with having to answer for the strike. The truth is that the possibilities of negotiations had not been exhausted. In any case, the strikers themselves called it a protest, not a strike. There can only be one comment from a government representative: It is necessary to apply legal procedures governing collective disputes and the organizing of strikes, procedures that are contained in the trade union law. This also lies in the interests of the strikers.

Giulio Gelibter: An Italian Communist Party [PCI] delegation is currently visiting Poland, the first visit by the PCI since martial law. Could you comment?

Urban: We are pleased with this visit and I trust that the talks will encourage the development of interparty cooperation and enrich the substance of Polish-Italian relations. But please ask the party about this, because I am not authorized to comment or report on this visit.

GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: At its latest session, the Politburo called for a radical acceleration of the reviews of administrative structures and job certifications. This implies that the work done hitherto was sloppy and superficial. May I ask you about the government's plans in this regard?

Urban: Your question is slightly premature. Although the government does try to act quickly, it cannot act so quickly as to turn yesterday's political decisions into today's plan of action. That part of the work that is the government's responsibility (the job certifications are not just government work, but party-government work) requires a concept of faster action, but right now I have nothing concrete to say. You have asked this question too soon.

Renate Marsch, DPA: I am very sorry, but I do not think you have answered the first question about what the government intends to do if other plants go the way of Bydgoszcz. I understand that the workers in Bydgoszcz were given a raise. What is to be done to prevent others from trying the same thing?

Urban: Look, I did answer that question. I said the Polish Government has stopped being a distributor of money and that every enterprise is independent today. An enterprise pays if it can afford to pay, and does not pay if it cannot. If it does not pay because it cannot afford to, it ought to go bankrupt. These rules of the game are part of the economic reform. The government controls the state budget, which earmarks funds for increases in wages if these wages are paid out of the budget and if the increases are contained in this year's plan.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: We know the city of Bydgoszcz has its own financial problems, so where is the money to pay for the wage rises of the bus and tram drivers supposed to come from?

Urban: Why don't you ask the municipal authorities of Bydgoszcz. I would like to know as well. It seems that either Bydgoszcz will increase its transportation fares, or will make financial cuts in other areas and increase the subsidies payable to the transportation enterprise. The government has nothing to say and nothing to add to this matter.

I can tell you that urban transportation in Bydgoszcz is 70 percent subsidized, even since the last fare increases, which means that 30 percent of its funds consists of its own takings. Where the money is to come from is the business of each people's council, in this case the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council. The state budget only contributes to the purchase of new vehicles. That is the economic order of things.

Mati Hoviseppe, KANSAN UNTISET of Finland: It is said that Soviet leader Gorbachev is coming to Poland in July on an official visit. Perhaps you know the exact date?

Urban: I can confirm that we are expecting the CPSU general secretary, but I cannot give the date yet.

Political Executive Committee Holds Meeting

Chaired by Ceausescu

AU291939 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/4/1988—On Friday, April 29, the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP was held under the chairmanship of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Ministers and other members of the government, managerial staff in the economy and other sectors of social life participated as invited guests.

During the meeting RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu read a report on some problems related to the management of socioeconomic activity, to the ideology and political-educative work, as well as to the international situation.

The Executive Political Committee highly appreciated the orientations and recommendations in the RCP general secretary's report which they unanimously approved and decided that they be published as theses of the future plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP.

Next, the Executive Political Committee examined the report on the ensurance of the products' quality and its control and on the metrology activity in 1988. The report underlines that last year the continuous rise in the technical and qualitative level of production, of the production for export in particular, was ensured, as well as the strengthening of technological discipline and order, of preventive control, both upon delivery and during the fabrication flow.

The Executive Political Committee demanded that greater attention be paid to the more judicious organization of quality control in production and to the introduction of modern methods for the control of products' quality, as well as to the improvement of the working personnel's professional training.

The Executive Political Committee further analysed the report on the population's money incomes and expenditure balance in 1987, in comparison to 1986. The data in the report emphasize that the successes scored in the country's socioeconomic development ensured the continuous increase of the working people's money incomes. The incomes derived from work done and from profit-sharing of the personnel in enterprises, institutions, state and cooperative units were last year higher than in 1986. At the end of 1987 the average nominal pay reached 3,035 lei, bigger than the one at the same time the previous year. The incomes from social funds also grew as a result of the measures adopted to increase pensions, child benefits, compensations and allowances. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the growth of the incomes, and of the volume of expenses and money availabilities of the population, in the conditions of price stability and of some prices below the levels set for many consumer goods, bring out in bold relief the justness of the programmes adopted for the increase of the working people's material and spiritual standard of living—the supreme goal of the RCP and Romanian state policy. To ensure the further growth of the working people's incomes, in accordance with the plan provisions, the Executive Political Committee asked that firm action be taken for the exemplary fulfilment of the plan with all indicators, of the physical production for export in particular, for the increase of economic efficiency, the realization of planned benefits, factors that directly influence the rise in the population's material and spiritual standard of living, in the entire people's life quality.

Ceausescu Report

AU0305201888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 3 May 88

["Nicolae Ceausescu's Exposition at the Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP" — AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/5/1988 — An exposition on questions related to socioeconomic management, to ideological work and to the international situation, which RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu read during the April 29 meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, was released in Bucharest. The orientations and recommendations contained in that document are theses that the next plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee and other forums will discuss at length.

The RCP general secretary showed that the general line and the strategy of development in Romania were just and met both objective requirements and general laws and the country's development necessities and possibilities. In that respect, he referred to the five-year plan that is being fulfilled and to the programmes by branches and sub-branches and showed that, notwithstanding shortfalls and difficulties in a number of sectors, the results that far were in line with socioeconomic realities and with the Romanian society's requirements for progress. The exposition underscores the need for an unflinching application of all the previously set measures with a view to improving management and planning activities in all fields of activity, with emphasis on the practical experience acquired in the almost 20 years since the worker democracy system and self-management and self-administration have been applied, which proves that the complex activity in the economy calls for a harmonious blending of the role of central bodies with the growing responsibility and attributions of central departments, enterprises and democratic bodies in working out and implementing the home and foreign policy of the Romanian party and state. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the existing resolutions, principles and laws in that area had proved just and efficacious and should be applied more firmly.

Showing that prerequisites were in place for the improvement of all activities, Nicolae Ceausescu said: I should like to once again point out that the economic principles and our organizational framework accord with our present development stage. We have already gained a long-standing experience and today the question is not to structurally modify them but to provide for their implementation, to take steps for the continuous improvement of our activity.

Referring to the experiences in some socialist countries with regard to the improvement of the activity and the development of socialist construction, the RCP general secretary said inter alia: Sure, there are various ways of approaching these issues in one country or another. We started from the revolutionary conception that socialism is being built in a manner that differs from one country to another, from one development stage of society to another, that the objective laws and principles of scientific socialism are applied in a differentiated manner by every party to the specific conditions and realities in the respective country. In this sense, the RCP, especially after the 9th Congress, endorsed a string of measures and improved the activity of management, planning, organization, also developing socialist democracy. Therefore, there is no such issue in Romania now.

As for criticizing some negative states of affairs belonging to the past or to the present, President Ceausescu went on, we have considered that this must be done from revolutionary positions, in view of removing what is negative and no longer appropriate while bringing into bold relief everything that has been achieved, that is good, that ensured the development of socialism and ensures the firm march forward. We have highly assessed the revolutionary forces, the struggle of the mass of people, the role of various personalities in various stages of the revolutionary struggle.

Nicolae Ceausescu showed in his exposition that Romania would firmly apply the principles of its policy of consolidating the collaboration and solidarity with all socialist countries, working for their strengthened unity, as one of the requisites of the successful construction of socialism in every country, for enhancing the appeal of socialism in the world.

He mentioned that Romania would always base her relations with other states upon the principles of equality, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, observance of every people's right to free development. In this spirit, the speaker requested that firmer action be taken in the relations of collaboration within the CMEA, in the Warsaw Treaty, in various joint bodies and commissions, and, generally in Romania's international relations, in the spirit of the stands of the RCP and Romanian state, that the whole internal and international policy and activity of Romania, of socialist construction, of peace, be presented in a more militant manner.

Approaching some international issues, President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated Romania's stand for the union of all forces toward the settlement of the grave and complex issues that are maintained in the world life, for disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, for the removal of the nuclear weapons, for conventional disarmament, for the reduction of the military expenditures.

About the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, Nicolae Ceausescu said: I think we must welcome the conclusion of these accords and the passage to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Romania considered the Soviet troops' entry into Afghanistan as a mistake and always declared for their withdrawal. We discussed these issues with the Soviet comrades more than once, the speaker said. The accord achieved now poses a string of very difficult issues, for, Afghanistan has to cope with situations that did not exist ten years ago. The political settlement must ensure also the democratic, independent development of Afghanistan.

Practicaly speaking, the RCP general secretary assessed, the present conditions in Afghanistan are incomparably more difficult than at the time of the Soviet troops' entry. True, it is imperiously necessary that any intervention from the outside be ended just as any support to the opposition forces outside, that one should strictly observe the Afghan people's independence and right to settle its issues by itself and ensure its development the way it wishes. Romania advocates a progressive, democratic development of Afghanistan on the socialist path and, in this spirit we shall consolidate the collaboration and solicarity with Afghanistan.

Also stating for a political solution in Nicaragua, the RCP general secretary said: We welcome the process under way in the world an end having to be put to any interference on the part of the United States of America and the independent development of the people of the Republic of Nicaragua on the road of progress secured.

We also are for a political solution in Kampuchea, Nicolae Ceausescu also said. We discussed this problem with the Vietnamese comrades and we arrived at the joint conclusion that national reconciliation should be ensured and the Vietnamese troops should withdraw from Kanpuchea. We stated for the cessation of any foreign interference in Kampuchean territory, for the ensurance of Kampuchea's democratic, independent development on the basis of neutrality and non-alignment. The Vietnamese comrades said they would withdraw their troops earlier than 1990 if a political solution were arrived at.

These conflicts, the speaker said in conclusion, strongly prove the correctness of the Marxist thesis stating against the expor of revolution, but then, also against the export of counte-revolution. As a matter of fact, the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan did not help Afghanistan on the road of socialism. On the contrary, it fomented the

growth of counterrevolutionary forces and the present-day situation was arrived at. The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea did not help either and, to the contrary, it caused damage and difficulties—and, unfortunately, not only in those countries—and, in general, prejudiced the prestige and principles of socialism. Likewise, the American intervention in Nicaragua and in other countries proves that counterrevolutionary forces cannot stifle the peoples' fight for independence, that Nicaragua, like other peoples, defends its freedom and its road to an independent and free development despite the superiority of the intervention force.

Gromyko To Pay Official Visit in Mid-May

AU0305173688 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, will pay an official visit of friendship to our country in mid-May.

Intergovernmental Session With USSR Held

AU0305182788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1657 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/5/1988—The proceedings of the 18th session of the Romanian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Collaboration opened in Bucharest on Tuesday.

The two delegations, led by Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the commission, and A.K. Antonov, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman for the USSR of the commission, analyze the way in which the understandings reached during the Romanian-Soviet summit dialogue are implemented, as well as ways of boosting commodity exchanges and bilateral economic cooperation.

Andrei, Vaduva Meet U.S. Businessmen

AU0305182088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1652 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/5/1988—On May 3, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister, and Ilie Vaduva, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, met in Bucharest with a group of businessmen from the United States of America, led by Robert Robertson, vice-chairman of the Romanian-U.S Economic Council, vice-president of "American Businessmen For International Trade" (ABIT), who are paying a visit to Romania.

In the attendance were executives of Romanian ministries and foreign trade enterprises.

Also present was Henry Clarke, charge d'affaires a.i. of the U.S.A. in Bucharest.

Sundic Comments on Shultz-Shevardnadze Meeting
LD022056 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] In anticipation of the next meeting between the foreign ministers of the United States and the USSR on 11 and 12 May in Geneva, our commentator Milika Sundic notes the circumstances of this meeting, which undoubtedly make it one with far-reaching consequences:

[Sundic] The foreign ministers of the two superpowers, Shultz and Shevardnadze, will meet once more, this time in Geneva, before President Reagan arrives in Moscow on 29 May. The two ministers are to consider the remaining contentious issues on an agreement on reducing strategic nuclear missiles by 50 percent and prepare the agenda for the fourth meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev. It is not yet clear whether an agreement on long-range missiles will be signed in Moscow, and this will not be the central theme of the talks between the two leaders. The central theme will be, above all, the issue of further advancing bilateral relations between the United States and the USSR.

Both sides now consider this to be a crucial issue, in other words, that only through an improvement in mutual relations can progress be made in the large number of contentious problems, from disarmament to regional problems. To put it another way, Moscow and Washington do not wish, whatever the cost, to diminish the importance of the forthcoming meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev, regardless of whether an agreement on missiles is signed during Reagan's visit, or somewhat later. In any case, for the time being there is no danger that negotiations on a second missile agreement will find themselves at a dead end, because an agreement is desired almost equally by both sides.

Clearly wishing to advance bilateral relations, the two superpowers are preoccupying themselves particularly with regaional problems, first of all those where their interests cross or conflict. After the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan, the Middle East and the situations in the Persian Gulf and Southeast Asia are due for consideration now. The agreement of Afghanistan, it is true, is still very much in question, because the Mujahidin do not accept it and do not want to negotiate with the Kabul regime. Regarding the Middle East, the situation in the Gulf, and Southeast Asia, one has the impression that there is a conviction by both superpowers that something can be done on these issues.

It seems Moscow has assumed an unalterable stance on the need for mutual recognition between the Arabs and Israel, which could lead to the United States to be more flexible and to accept the idea of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East, which is opposed by Tel Aviv. In the case of the Gulf war, both Moscow and Washington agree that there must be persistence in applying United Nations Security Council Resolution 598, which seeks an end to hostilities between the warring sides and a withdrawal of troops to internationally recognized borders. It is true that this agreement could be brought into question if the United States acts too hastily in retaliatory measures against Iran, as it did recently when the U.S. fleet sunk several Iranian boats and destroyed two oil platforms.

The situation in Southeast Asia represents a problem in its own right. That is, it does not concern the United States as much as the USSR, but nevertheless Washington is insisting on a Soviet contribution to Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia. Such an idea is not alien to the USSR, but it raises the question of its future relations with Hanoi if the Soviets apply pressure for a Vietnamese troop withdrawal from Cambodia.

In any case the Geneva meeting between Shultz and Shevardnadze will not be any easier than their meeting in Moscow, but to judge by the mood prevailing on both sides that Reagan's visit to Moscow should be well prepared, the meeting will probably not be unsuccessful.

On Opposition to Perestroyka
LD0305155788 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 May 88

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] What is presently happening in the Soviet Union is of almost equal concern to all progressive forces in the world, which are fighting a battle for peace and socialism. And that the path of transformation in Soviet society is strewn with thorns is well known. Milika Sundic comments:

In the 70 years of the Soviet Union's existence, there has never been as much talk about the ways of internal development as recently. Equally, no other Soviet leader, except perhaps Khrushchev, has had it as difficult as Mikhail Gorbachev is having it at this juncture. The path he has chosen, though not everything started from him, is facing great obstacles, which sometimes look insurmountable. The question actually is whether perestroyka will triumph or whether conservative and dogmatic forces will once again succeed in braking and stopping the already initiated process of democratization and a speedier development of building socialism.

There is no longer any doubt that Gorbachev is not having it easy, since this is increasingly written and mentioned publicly. A tough battle is under way and its outcome depends on the fate of socialism in the Soviet Union. Opponents of perestroyka are not yielding, and it seems that most of them are in immediate proximity to Gorbachev himself, perhaps in the Politburo and the Central Committee. Bureaucracy is tough and stubborn, which can be understood since perestroyka is mostly threatening it. Sometime ago it was bureaucracy that

asked Khrushchev to pay with his head, and it is obvious that it would not spare Gorbachev either if it were to succeed. Sometimes it even seems that an ordinary Soviet citizen, a worker, does not understand, either, where Gorbachev is going. Not because Gorbachev is not sufficiently clear, but primarily because bureaucracy is frightening workers that life will be more difficult for them tomorrow.

Gorbachev's opponents openly say that without leadership from the center and a firm-hand policy the country is neither ready nor capable of understanding and accepting new challenges since, as they say, this would turn a multinational country like the Soviet Union to the path of destruction. Some are even openly evoking the assistance of Stalin himself and his times since, allegedly, only then was it known whose place was where and who should do what. That is why it was possible for attacks on perestroyka and glasnost to become prominent in some papers, in which many saw, obviously quite rightly, that it is not only a matter of individuals who went astray, but of their works' network, individuals, and groups that still exercise a strong influence on all the trends of internal development in the Soviet Union.

After all, it is not by chance that when Gorbachev says—and he often repeats this—that the fate of the country and the fate of socialism depend on the fate of perestroyka. Of course, there are many more of those who support Gorbachev and perestroyka, but this does not mean that its opponents will yield so easily. There are even some reports that they will become even more vociferous at the upcoming all-union conference of the Soviet Party, with the intention of stopping or at least slowing down the speeded up process of democratization in the Soviet Union.

Of course, Gorbachev is aware of all this, and it is to be expected that his line will win. Naturally what is presently happening in the Soviet Union will be felt in the socialist countries. Progressive forces are supporting Gorbachev because they are aware that his possible failure would be a defeat both for peace and socialism. True, all battles cannot be won at once, and as long as they are being fought there should be no yielding. Obviously, Gorbachev is aware of this.

Mojsov Interviewed on Arab, Nonaligned Ties

NC2904134588 Cairo MENA in Arabic
1045 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (MENA)—Yugoslav President Lazar Mojsov has expressed his great appreciation for President Husni Mubarak and the Egyptian people. He said: "When we speak about Egyptian-Yugoslav relations, we must stress the basis for the strength of the current good relations between the two countries. This basis essentially consists of the frank and constructive dialogue and frequent meetings that have taken place with His Excellency President Mubarak, whom we all hold in great esteem."

The Yugoslav president added: "Consequently, we have been able to achieve further bilateral cooperation and coordination on issues which are of interest to us and which also are of interest to our Nonaligned Movement."

In an exclusive interview with Mrs Raja' Abu Shahiyyah, the MENA correspondent in Belgrade, the Yugoslav president referred to the traditional relations of friendship between Yugoslavia and Egypt, their joint political action, and the strong constructive spirit characterizing these relations. He said: "I emphasize the importance of the dialogue between us. It is virtually constant and continuous, and the friendship and mutual understanding have lent dynamism to our cooperation, despite any differences of view that may exist. These are the bulwarks of any firm and fruitful friendship."

President Mojsov referred to the role of the late leaders Josip Broz Tito and Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir in laying the foundations of Yugoslav-Egyptian friendship. He said that the two leaders participated in providing the basis for a fairer system of international relations. Through their joint work among the nonaligned nations, they also made a historic contribution to the policy and philosophy of nonalignment.

The Yugoslav president said that Egyptian-Yugoslav cooperation in economic, technical, and other fields represents the highest model of cooperation among states, especially in industrial cooperation, trade, and cultural, scientific, and technical fields. He stressed the possibility of achieving greater cooperation between Yugoslavia and Egypt, especially in the development fields, despite the difficult conditions facing the two countries. He added that this cooperation will enable the two countries to overcome the difficulties facing them. He continued: "This is what we call self-reliance."

President Mojsov spoke about the role of Egypt and Yugoslavia in the Nonaligned Movement. He said that Egypt and Yugoslavia were among the founding members of the movement. The two countries also struggled for the democratization of international relations.

He added that the two countries share identical views on the solution of problems by peaceful means, especially the problems of the Middle East, Afghanistan, Chad, and South Africa. They also share similar views on the North-South dialogue and on the new strategy for solving development problems in the nonaligned and developing nations.

On the current escalation in the Iran-Iraq war, the Yugoslav president said: We have noticed that there is a tendency to keep the fires of tension and conflicts raging in the world. We had sought to bring about the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 on

ending this war. We were making some headway in this regard when this new escalation occurred, forcing public opinion to witness destruction, bloodshed, and innocent civilian victims.

The Yugoslav president said that a solution must come through the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution. As a UN member, Yugoslavia has made efforts and will continue to make efforts to implement this resolution. It is the duty of the international community, the Nonaligned Movement, and the United Nations to continue to work to end this war as soon as possible, and to stop the bloodshed and the tragic conflict between the two nonaligned countries in accordance with their legitimate interests and the essential interests of their people.

Responding to a question on whether the constituent countries of the Nonaligned Movement will undertake initiatives to activate its role and efforts, Yugoslav President Lazar Mojsov said that the Nonaligned Movement is a political one. Hence its role and effectiveness are enhanced when it applies its principles and policies to various problems so as to ensure just and lasting solutions to them. He added: It is on this basis that the movement is seeking to resolve the Lebanese problem, for example. It will be more effective if the principles of independence, territorial integrity, and non-interference in other's affairs, as well as the right of all peoples to be the decisionmakers of their future and to maintain their sovereignty without any foreign interference, are scrupulously taken into consideration. These are the principled stands of the Nonaligned Movement, but tangible action must be taken to implement them. Our duty is to think seriously and fundamentally of ways to update the movement's actions and make them more effective and dynamic.

As an example, the Yugoslav president proposed that a group of nonaligned countries should meet directly to formulate new ideas and to adopt practical means for resolving problems.

President Mojsov strongly condemned the crime of assassinating Palestinian leader Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], saying it is a despicable terrorist act and a crime rejected by humanity. He added that the crime was not directed against Abu Jihad only, but against the entire Palestinian people. He said: This ugly incident underlines the fact that the process of negotiations and dialogue and the current efforts to give an impetus to the peace process are not easy. With every step we take toward holding the international peace conference and toward solving the protracted Palestinian issue—which is the basis and crux of the Middle East problem—we are confronted with another terrorist operation against the Palestinian people that becomes an obstacle to progress along this path. He noted that it is not the first time that the Middle East and the Palestinian people have faced such a terrible terrorist action.

The Yugoslav president added: This new criminal and terrorist action shows that it is necessary to have more cohesiveness and unity among all the Palestinian groups, and also among all the Arab countries, which should take a united stand. It is also necessary that all Arab countries more solidly back the PLO, and that this solidarity be constant and firm and not a temporary one dependent on events.

President Lazar Mojsov said: The Arab friends are fully aware of the importance of Arab solidarity and unity. I know from my own work and past experience when I represented my country at the United Nations that we felt the increased Arab solidarity and the united Arab stands whenever a similar terrorist operation took place. However, we also sometimes felt that there was a retreat again to a blocked road and that was how things repeatedly occurred.

The Yugoslav president stressed that the only necessary basis for helping resolve the Middle East problem is the unity and solidarity of the Arab countries' stands, not only in words but in tangible deeds. He also stressed that the Arab world today is a very important factor and element in all international relations. He added: Were the Arab world united it would have a great effect on activating and setting in motion many of the desired results.

On the Palestinian uprising, the Yugoslav president said it is a unique and distinquished general popular uprising against illegal occupation. This uprising again signals a warning to the world public about the Middle East problems that have existed for many years, making it the most dangerous hotbed of tension in the world. He said: We in the SFRY recognize and are concerned about Middle East problems and seek to contribute to a solution out of our peoples' experience throughout history of the value of freedom, independence, and development, without obstacles, for all peoples. He added: "Proceeding from this premise and in line with the spirit and principles of the Nonaligned Movement, we emphasize and consistently press for the elimination of the main cause of the Middle East troubles: the Palestinian problem, which is the crux and core of the complicated situation in the Middle East. We take into consideration the presence of many parties directly involved and, moreover, the presence of several interests in the Middle East."

On the possibility of UN peacekeeping forces entering Arab territory as a prelude to resolving the Palestinian problem, the Yugoslav president said: "I believe that in seeking a solution it is necessary to study any constructive idea that may contribute to establishing a just peace, including the recruitment of UN forces to work in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip." He added that, generally speaking, past experience in the use of UN peacekeeping forces must be considered and previous negative aspects avoided.

The Yugoslav president said further that all recent events emphasize that in the present situation there is no more realistic approach to resolve the Middle East problem than convening an international conference for peace under UN aegis, attended by all parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. He noted that the Nonaligned Movement emphasizes this approach, in accordance with the nonaligned summit in Harare. He said that his country, through its present membership in the Security Council, is exerting efforts to resolve the Palestinian issue. He noted, however, that his country is not alone on the Council, where there are those who enjoy the right of veto. The Security Council, therefore, is not capable of doing everything, but is highly vulnerable. "Despite everything," he said, "we will make our utmost efforts at the Security Council and the United Nations to set in motion the peace process in the Middle East and to convene an international conference for peace, despite the fact that there are those who reject this."

Regarding Israel's stand on the peace efforts and its constant rejection of peaceful initiatives, the Yugoslav president said that the group that rules and holds power in Israel has not to date learned or benefited from past lessons. They still adhere to their aggressive goals and use force, he said, noting two new and important phenomena. The first emerged in Israel and is seen in the emergence of views opposed to the Israeli authorities' stands within Israeli public opinion and among scholars, attorneys, teachers, former politicians, and others. These people are exhibiting mature opinions, expressing their desire for a peaceful solution to the crisis. Such moves and opinions in Israel did not exist before. The second phenomenon is that that the United States now holds a concept that focuses on the need for efforts to solve the Middle East problem peacefully. The United States has asked the Soviet Union to exert efforts along this line.

Mojsov went on to say that naturally any agreement between the superpowers in this respect could lead to a peaceful solution for this issue. However, he added, there will be a long period between the time the two superpowers show such readiness and the reaching of the desired agreement. He stressed that many things will happen in the meantime, such as the terrorist operation that took the life of Palestinian leader Abu Jihad, in a bid to place obstacles along the road. He added: Excuses and other well-known pretexts, such as the elections in the United States and Israel, will also surface. And then the whole ritual will start anew, as it has several times before and still does.

Regarding the noticeable progress in relations between the SFRY and Arab Gulf states, President Mojsov said these relations are developing in various fields, particularly economic, noting that there is continuous political dialogue at both the bilateral and multilateral levels. He added that Yugoslavia's bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the nonaligned Arab Gulf countries has reached advanced levels. He went on to say: There is mutual cooperation and understanding between us and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, although officially we do not maintain diplomatic relations. However, I can say that SFRY-Saudi cooperation at the political and economic levels has increased recently, and I am certain the establishment of diplomatic relations will better serve our common interests and will [words indistinct].

Turning to the efforts to ensure security and stability in the Mediterranean, the Brioni resolutions in this respect, and the fact that Yugoslavia was chosen by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as the venue to announce his three proposals for ensuring security in the Mediterranean, the Yugoslav president was asked whether Gorbachev's initiative is in line with the resolutions of the nonaligned conference in Brioni. He replied: We received Gorbachev's proposals on security in the Mediterranean, as did the international public, with great interest, as Yugoslavia is a European and nonaligned country overlooking the Mediterranean. He pointed out that everyone knows very well that the competition between the two superpowers and their increasing presence in the Mediterranean have a negative impact on the Mediterranean basin. This means that we have a ticking bomb that could go off any time, he said. This situation could also expand regional and national disputes that already exist.

President Mojsov pointed out that the nonaligned states of the Mediterranean agreed in Brioni to work together to promote cooperation among themselves on equal bases, without interference from parties outside the Mediterranean, and to lay the groundwork for strengthening security. In this respect, he added, Gorbachev's proposals to lessen the presence of superpowers in the region are not contrary to the Brioni resolutions or to the need for the Mediterranean countries to reactivate their mutual relations and promote peace and security in the region. Moreover, he added, even if the only purpose behind this idea is to have a permanent dialogue between the two superpowers on the issue of disarmament, this would not be a bad thing.

The Yugoslav president added: We always think in terms of promoting comprehensive and equal cooperation among all the Mediterranean countries, not just those who are nonaligned. There are talks under way with the European countries overlooking the Mediterranean on promoting cooperation. He noted that progress could be made gradually in this respect, particularly in areas of common interest, such as tourism, protection of the environment and coastlines, and maritime transportation, especially that involving the transport of hazardous and other similar substances. This could create an atmosphere of trust and cooperation and alleviate tension, wherever it may be, he declared. Such minor steps will gradually lead to more important ones, which must be in harmony with internationally held concepts and which should directly enhance peace and security in the region.

Regarding the recent meeting of the Group of 77 in Belgrade, during which developing states' debt problems were the focus of discussion and at which the Group

announced the comprehensive system of commercial preferences, Mojsov said that this system is an important instrument for South-South cooperation, as well as for bolstering self-reliance.

He noted that this means improving the negotiating stand with advanced creditor states and encouraging a new dialogue between North and South, which must take place because of the general problems from which the interlinked world economy is suffering.

The Yugoslav president went on to say that the international debt crisis requires new policies and initiatives, as well as effective methods. These will be constructive if the creditor and debtor states achieve mutual solutions, especially if they are directed toward development. In other words, development, a suitable rate of growth, and increasing income from creditor states' exports constitute the first step toward overcoming the crisis and the only way to settle the debts. This means that joint efforts should be made to create circumstances allowing the debtor states to secure the necessary resources to give momentum to their development and consequently settle their debts.

President Mojsov added that it is natural that without a prior dialogue with the creditors there can be no talk about effective solutions, and everything will remain within the framework of separate efforts and appeals to the creditors to reestablish the bridges that have been disrupted.

The Yugoslav president said that a South-South dialogue should be conducted in an effective and tangible manner, to encourage a North-South dialogue and create a feeling that the developing states, which can help themselves to a great extent, can be partners with the developed world, without dictating conditions or imposing methods, but on the basis of equality and the realization that economic integration among the developed and developing countries is an economic necessity.

He said that this should be the path to a new international economic system.

Mojsov emphasized that development should be the new name for peace, especially now, when prospects have opened for the elimination of the dangers of a nuclear war; for the gradual creation of a new system of international relations; for the general application of democracy in international relations; for the recognition of all peoples' right to self-determination; for the rejection of the instruments of force, interference, and dictation of conditions; for negotiations on equal footing; and for reaching understanding only by peaceful means.

Regarding the proposal that a limited summit conference of some states of the Group 77 be convened to discuss the subject of debts, President Mojsov said: There are diverse views on this matter, and "I believe such a meeting should be well prepared for so as to achieve the desired results. [quotation marks as received]

On tripartite cooperation among Egypt, Yugoslavia, and India, the Yugoslav president said: "This splendid work by the founders of the Nonaligned Movement is taking place on the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the movement. During the meeting in Cairo last December the three states confirmed their desire to expand cooperation among themselves to include—besides trade—industry, science, technology, agriculture, transport, and tourism. [quotation marks as received] He added: As developing states, our policy is to use our capabilities and resources. The capabilities of Egypt, Yugoslavia, and India will substantiate this.

Vrhovec Begins Official Visit to U.S.

LD0405101188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—Josip Vrhovec, member of the SFRY Presidency, this morning left for Washington at the invitation of U.S. President Ronald Reagan. With the U.S. President and other top officials in the U.S. Administration, Vrhovec will discuss ways of advancing bilateral economic and other forms of cooperation as well as the most important international issues. The two sides will brief each other about their respective activities on both the international and domestic scene.

Josip Vrhovec's visit to Washington is a continuation of the Yugoslav-U.S. dialogue at both the highest and high level. The coming dialogue is expected to provide an ample opportunity for exchanging views about the ways of stimulating bilateral cooperation, primarily in the economic sphere with the aim of diversifying it through new higher forms and developing it on a long-term basis.

At Belgrade airport, Josip Vrhovec was seen off by Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and other Yugoslav officials. Joseph Presel, charge d'affaires in the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, was also present.

BORBA Views Nuclear Power, Chernobyl

AU0305145488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr, 1-3 May 88 p 15

[From the "Week in the World" column by Vlado Teslic: "(Un)forgotten Chernobyl"]

[Text] Federal Secretary Loncar's visit to China has not yet ended, and his impressions not publicized, but the talks have certainly been useful and have opened many common and interesting points. What we have in common is enterprise, readiness, and courage in carrying out reforms. One even has the impression that we are

encouraging each other in this respect and that we are ready to use each other's experiences. Friendly and socialist solidarity is really at its highest here.

One of the interesting points in those talks perhaps lies in the fact that we Yugoslavs attach great importance to economic activities and enthusiasm in Asia and the Far East, while for the Chinese Europe remains the most important region concerning general trends in the world. What is involved is probably a different foreign political position and that, as we know, does not change easily.

At this time 2 years ago, something horrible happened, something that we believed would greatly affect the destiny of mankind, and that actually showed itself to be only another demonstration of the transcience of human activities, if not a demonstration of human superficiality and ignorance: It was an accident at a nuclear reactor in Chernobyl, not far from Kiev, and today, only an occasional newspaper registers it in passing.

Since the ancient "flood" and other mysteries and catastrophes of past times, not one event—including even the first nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima—has managed to frighten the people of the world so much. Something concrete has been done though, at least in Western Europe; the general trend of constructing nuclear power plants has abated, measures of protection have been intensified, and many countries have given up constructing nuclear power plants. However, most scientists still do not accept the assessments of the consequences the Chernobyl catastrophe had on people and the environment, just as the majority of politicians, economists, or statesmen fail to express their opinion on all this. The dream (and the fallacy) on omnipotent nuclear arms still exists in their subconsciousness.

It is interesting that statesmen do not discuss this matter either. Periodically, it appears as a problem between some countries. Austria now protests against the construction of a nuclear power plant in neighboring Czechoslovakia. However, it is not readily known that the Yugoslavs who have had talks with the Hungarians during the past years have questioned the expansion [dogradnja] of the Hungarian nuclear power plant at Paks on the Danube.

Racan, Suvar 'Only' Candidates for President

AU0305095788 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 88 p 1

[Mladen Plese article: "Electing President"]

[Text] Every so often, especially recently, the question is asked as to who is going to be the next president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. By asking this question, many behave as if they are the ones who are taking the veil off yet another taboo topic. This question has been asked so often that even now one can talk about the interest in the election of the first man of the party in some places exceeding the interest usually aroused by our election procedures.

The "usually well informed sources" have already been heard to say that instead of Ivica Racan or Stipe Suvar another member of the Croatian LC will be elected member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. As is known, this member would then be elected president. When these claims proved to be incorrect, a rumor was heard that the new top man will be the present president of the Croatian LC Central Committee, who is also ex officio member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. But when this proved to be only a product of somebody's crazed imagination, people started to evaluate the chances of Ivica Racan and Stipe Suvar, the only real and legitimate candidates. So, one newspaper carried on its front page a report on who, in its opinion, deserves to be elected. Another newspaper,

Another newspaper, on the other hand, prattled on about why the one that should will not in fact become the president, while a third newspaper announced a "merciless" pre-election race and contest.

In addition to the fact that these speculations speak most of all about those who formulated and launched them, about their supporter-like nervousness and impatience, it is also difficult not to think that the aim of these speculations is to sow doubt and cause divisions in the areas where the candidates come from. How otherwise could one explain the simultaneous election of the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which is also a high and important party post, and fail to ask not only who will be elected, but also who the potential candidates are, considering that many people do not have a clue who they are?

Questions such as who is going to be the new president were, as a rule, addressed to the Croatian party leadership and contained an unavoidable addition, at least in the case of this republic: Why is Croatia remaining silent about it? Perhaps the fact that very little has been written and spoken about this in Croatia has contributed to this silence, but this still does not give anybody the right to conclude that "something is wrong."

The reason this has not been discussed in the Croatian LC lies simply in the fact that the 10th Croatian LC congress introduced a new principle that has been consistently applied: the election of one of several candidates by a secret vote is compulsory in all LC organizations ranging from the basic LC organizations to the top Croatian LC. Therefore, since the Croatian LC has two members in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Ivica Racan and Stipe Suvar, and since previous practice has been for the republican and provincial committees to propose their candidate for the top post to the federal party leadership, there is no reason to ignore this statutory principle: the candidate is elected by secret ballot. It

is then left to the LCY Central Committee Presidium to express its view on this proposal in accordance with the 13th LCY Congress resolutions. They are quite clear as regards the call for an even speedier and more consistent democratization of the overall party life, stronger ideological and action unity of the top party and state organs, the modernization of the concept of economic development that would take into consideration economic laws and market logic, etc.

In short, all the speculations about who is going to be the new president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium appear to be only arbitrary because of the nomination procedure and the method of election. Since so much importance is attached, for whatever reasons, to the first among equals, it would be interesting to find out why the question of electing the president is not addressed to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, which elects its top man itself. Does this not, in its own way, reflect the attitudes of the self-proclaimed cadre toward the principle of collective leadership and decisionmaking and even the dignity of the top party organ itself?

LCY Criticism of Popit Statement Examined

LD021311 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1001 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 May (TANJUG)—We cannot recall an occasion when the LCY Central Committee Presidium was so specific in denouncing a statement as it was during its last session when it rebuked France Popit, president of the Slovene Presidency. It did this because, in a recent statement of his, "he harmed the efforts to step up confidence in the federal organs" and said that his statement "was not in keeping with the democratic dialogue about the delegate system," and "that he was not contributing to the overall efforts faster to eliminate the crisis..." writes Branko Podobnik in the May Day issue of DELO.

The author recalled that at the time of the most vehement condemnation of the events in Slovenia and because of the writing by a section of the press on the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] (which in parts was quite unacceptable) and "the criticism" that counterrevolution was going on in our republic France Popit recently said that some of the regulations formulating our economic policy could be considered to be counterrevolutionary. The author notes that if we attempt to analyze this statement considering the continuity of the revolution, we cannot reject Popit's view without reflection. It is a fact that our economic policy more than anything else, which is characteristic for its statist features and concrete moves, says the author, has whittled down the scope of self-management that we (rightly) list among the main achievements and the continuation of our socialist revolution. Since without a doubt the quintessence of self-management is to give life to the slogan that those who produce should also decide about the conditions and results of their work—and increasingly few things are left to self-managers to decide about—then we can asseverate that one of the most significant gains of the revolution is slipping out of the hands of the workers. And this is where the line of self-management has been cut short, says the DELO commentator, and where the working people have been deprived of their rights.

Of course, France Popit can defend himself, but attention must be drawn to the criticism made by the the LCY Central Committee Presidium because what we are talking about is an obvious inconsistency, says DELO. Words like "class," "rights of direct producers," "our working class," etc are frequently heard in that organ. However, when someone, although he may have done it in a rather crude way, draws attention to the fact that what is being done in the name of the working class is closer to counterrevolution than to consolidation of self-management and implementation of the constitutional rights of the workers, they experiences robust criticism.

We think that in making that statement France Popit did not act wisely from the political point of view, is the view expressed by the author, becuase it has become obvious that in some quarters he has been misunderstood—whether this misunderstanding was intentional or genuine is a different question. For many years France Popit held office. This made it possible for him to undertake actions or dictated to him these actions that were directly tied up with sorting out the relations in our society. If we want to be accurate, recalls DELO, we must recall his frequent critical warnings in which one could always identify a criticism of the practice that deprived those who produce of their right to control the results.

It is simple and the easiest thing to do to train the arrows of criticism only on the federal organs, says the commentator in conclusion. Instead of criticizing them, one should see to it that they are joined by the people with knowledge and ability that are greater than those possessed by the people employed in them now. Besides, it is not only the federal state that is curtailing the rights of self-managers. The municipalities, republics and provinces too have in their "states" the people to whom statism is closer than self-management.

Assembly Chamber Views Economic Activity

LD291354 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—Today the Chamber of Republics and Provinces in the SFRY Assembly established that, compared to 1985, there has been a further weakening and disruption of the Yugoslav common market. Various forms of disintegration and isolationism are increasingly prominent, conditions of economic activity are erratic, monopolistic behavior is on the increase, work force mobility is very poor, while there are increasingly serious irregularities in relations between supply and demand.

The main causes of this situation, according to the delegates, are certain solutions in the political and economic systems, a number of measures in current economic policy, and inconsistency in carrying out established tasks. On the basis of this, the chamber concluded that for an efficient functioning of the Yugoslav common market it is necessary to carry out essential changes in the political and economic systems and stressed that the already initiated constitutional changes present an opportunity to achieve this.

As was pointed out, constitutional changes should ensure greater independence of economic subjects and consistent respect for economic laws of goods production, prevent regional isolationism, and clearly define the attitude of sociopolitical communities toward the market.

In a short debate on this theme, the problem of unsolved income relations as one of the main causes of disintegration and isolationism, and the fact that the consequences of a disintegration of the Yugoslav common market are most severely felt in insufficiently developed republics and Kosovo were particularly stressed.

Continuing the session, the chamber endorsed a report by the FEC on the supply of the Yugoslav market with basic raw and reproduction materials and with consumer goods last year and at the beginning of this year. This is said to have been mostly satisfactory. It was established that the FEC should undertake economic steps that will ensure regular market supply for the forthcoming months. [passage omitted]

The chamber then endorsed changes and amendments to the law on turnover tax for products and services and to the customs duty law.

It then endorsed a report on the participation of the SFRY Assembly delegation at a session of the standing committee of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe this 23 March. The proposal that Veljko Markovic should be relieved of his duties as a member of the assembly commission for constitutional questions from among the ranks of scientific, expert, and public workers; and that Aleksandar Mitrovic, member of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, should be elected as a member of this commission, was unanimously endorsed. The chamber also unanimously endorsed the proposal that Sinan Hasani, SFRY Presidency member, should be appointed president of the committee for Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia awards.

At the end of the session the chamber also endorsed the proposals to relieve two officials of their duties. Because of his departure to take up a new post, Saso Ivanovski was relieved of his duties as deputy federal public prosecutor, and Dr Milorad Unkovic was relieved of his duties as deputy federal secretary for foreign trade.

Presidency Orders May Day Gun Salute

AU0305182988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr, 1-3 May 88 p 8

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—On the occasion of Labor Day, 1 May, the SFRY Presidency has issued the following order:

"In honor of Labor Day, 1 May, a 15-gun salute will be fired from 24 field pieces in the SFRY capital Belgrade on 30 April, and a 10-gun salute from 12 field pieces in the capitals of the socialistic republics." [signed] Lazar Mojsov, President of the SFRY Presidency.

Defense Commission Views Upcoming Conference

LD281515 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—It is unrealistic to expect that the coming LCY conference would resolve all the problems in society or that, on the other hand, its results would be minimal. Its objective is to unite all our forces in the efforts to pull out of the socioeconomic and political crisis, in the grip of which we have been for several years. This was noted at a session today of the LCY Central Committee's Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection.

Unfortunately, there is unanimous view in the LC about the seriousness of the threats posed by frequent attacks on society's fundamental values. The theses for the LCY conference give a generalized answer to the problem as if we are not going through one of the deepest crisis in socialist Yugoslavia.

The public has already denounced such attacks, particularly those directed against the army and its role as the most important part of the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection. However, we are still without an analysis or assessment of their effect on the young generation and the country's defense and security system.

Although the LCY conference is meant to be a thematic one, very little space has been devoted to issues of defense and protection. Several participants in the debate thought that the space did not reflect the role and importance of the defense system in the country's present crisis situation.

The proposed standpoints for the LCY conference, which refer to all-people's defense and social self-protection, should promote the defense concept and emphasize the need to urgently create conditions for socialization in the sphere of defense and security.

Bosnian Assembly Fails To Elect President

AU0305173588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 88 p 1

[Maristela Lucic report: "Two Ballots—Without a President"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Apr—A precedent was set today at the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly session—a new president was not elected for this highest organ of authority in the republic! Two rounds of secret voting failed because neither of the two candidates, Muhamed Besic and Esad Horozic had the necessary majority of votes. In the first vote, out of 248 delegates, 115 voted for Muhamed Besic and 103 for Esad Horozic, with 30 invalidated ballots

In the second vote, out of 252 delegates, the first candidate got 119, the second 90, and there were 43 invalidated ballots. It was decided that the entire process of electing a president for the republican assembly be repeated, from the nomination of candidates to the ballot itself. Until then, Dr Aleksandar Kalmar, who was elected vice president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly by a secret ballot at today's session, will preside over the assembly. Three candidates were nominated for this office: Vlatko Dolocek, Branko Ekert, and Aleksandar Kalmar.

The assembly relieved Muhamed Berberovic and Josip Lovrenovic of their positions as members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Executive Council at their own request, and then it chose three new members of the republican government in a secret ballot. These were Stevo Mirjanic, Mirko Puljic, and Sabrija Pojskic. A fourth candidate, Borislav Krajina was also nominated for this post, but he withdrew his candidacy before the session.

The delegates elected Pera Krijan and Alija Latic as Constitutional Court judges by a show of hands. Before this session another two candidates were proposed, but Franjo Kozulj withdrew because of health reasons and Sabrija Pojskic withdrew because he was proposed as a candidate for membership of the Republican Executive Council. There was also a lengthy discussion at today's session on the election of a new president and vice president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Executive Council. It was proposed to the delegates that they either vote for one candidate to be chosen by the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina or choose the president of the Republican Executive Council from several candidates. The discussion was dominated by the view that several candidates should be nominated for the president of the republican government, but it would be a greater shame if the forming of the republican government were postponed today.

In the end, it was not accepted that the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina should nominate only one candidate, but that it should perhaps meet during an assembly session and as nominator endorse more than one candidate for the president of the Executive Council while the Bosnian Assembly Commission would endorse the candidates for vice president of the Executive Council.

Macedonian LC Conference Adopts Stances

AU0305125288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "We Started the Crisis Ourselves"]

[Text] Skopje, 27 Apr—The 2-day conference of the Macedonian LC finished today with the adoption of stances. The basic one was that it is high time for a turnaround that must follow the route of a far more energetic promotion by the LC of commodity production and a market free of political restraints and guardians. Every other alternative can lead us into an even deeper crisis with consequences that cannot even be perceived today.

Of even more significance is that the conference emphasized in its stances that in itself this tenet cannot be realized with the existing relationship between forces in the LC and with its high degree of bureaucratization. This has harmed the whole of society and particularly Macedonia.

After the first day, in which an anemic and generally repetitive discussion prevailed, individual speeches on the second day even received applause because of their criticisms. Here are some highlights from the discussion:

Milan Pancevski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, warned that deep-rooted changes in the socioeconomic and political system are necessary, as well as within the LCY. This action implies surmounting obvious confusions and deviations in the many essential questions of development.

We Are Responsible [subhead]

Delegate Stanko Mihailov stressed that this is the last chance for us to move from the height of the crisis to its solution. Mihailov said that the leadership must also be conscious of this. The workers class wants clear programs and real ways out of the crisis. Let those who are not ready to offer these give up their positions to younger and more able experts.

Darko Kartus spoke in a similar way: "We must convey to the workers class that we Communists are responsible for the bad situation. Nobody else brought the crisis upon us."

Delegate Kosta Kostov enjoyed the greatest applause. Turning to the latest events in the relationship between the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Skopje LC City Committee Presidium, Kostov directed sharp criticism at the behavior of the party and

other leaders of the city. He also warned that it was unacceptable that a leadership is criticized and afterwards many of them receive new terms of office.

As examples of opportunistic behavior, Kostov cited the leadership's attitude toward the wild, ethnically pure Albanian suburb of Skopje which has about 12,000 inhabitants and looks more like a desolate wasteland than an urbanized town. In his words, this suburb, which appears in hardly any records, is becoming the central point from which Albanian nationalists and separatists send their messages.

Another impression: The main theme of the greatest number of speeches of delegates from all regions of Macedonia was the social dimension of today's political and economic situation in Yugoslavia and Macedonia. There were warnings about unbearably low personal incomes, the very bad housing situation, and the widening social divisions.

"On the whole, the views and appraisals contained in the basic document, the proposed stances, and the report by the president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium have been endorsed, but not only that. The conference has discussed several questions more thoroughly and made a significant contribution to the enhancement and concretization of appraisals and stances, making them more operational and more realizable in practice," said Mihail Danev, secretary of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium in his final speech, concluding the discussion in which about 120 delegates had participated.

A Consistent Fight [subhead]

Danev said that the conference had energetically asked for the constitutional position of the workers class to be realized. It sought a consistent fight against the statist and bureaucratic usurpation of the power of the workers class and for the independence of economic subjects, reliance on one's own work, the responsible carrying out of all tasks with initiative, income distribution according to work results, an efficient state as the lever of the workers class, publicity at work, the exchange of the incompetent for the competent, and the ideopolitical and clear determination of cadres.

Danev then said that the conference had energetically fought against any type of statist-bureaucratic or bourgeois-liberalist alternative in the structure of social relations, against any attack on the foundations of our social structure. It energetically rejects attempts at marginalizing the role of the LC. It wants a strong LCY that is ideopolitically united and capable from the point of view of action and cadres. It wants neither the party in power nor a debating society. No centralistic organization and no coalition of parties. It wants the real vanguard that will articulate the worker-class and national interests in the Yugoslav socialist federal community in the best way, an LC which will act as a directing force and a cohesive and integrating factor of Yugoslavia, said Mihail Danev in his final speech.

Briefs

Montenegro LC Officials Reelected

At the Montenegro LC Central Committee session held on Wednesday, Miljan Radovic was reelected president of the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium for the next 2 years. Savo Skaric was reelected secretary of the Presidium. [Text] [*AU0305115188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 88 p 3 AU*]

Macedonian Officials Elected

Skopje, 28 Apr—The delegates of all three chambers of the Macedonian Assembly today reelected Vulnet Starova president of the Macedonian Assembly. Pavle Georgijevski, Elica Doneva, and Durgut Edipovski were reelected vice presidents of the Assembly. Ivan Avramovski was reelected president of the Chamber of Associated Labor, Ilija Gligorovski president of the Chamber of Municipalities, and Petar Karajanov president of the Sociopolitical Chamber. [Summary] [*AU0305115288 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 88 p 9 AU*]